

The
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The *Quarterly Journal*

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COVER: An engraving after a drawing by P. Charles D'Agrain depicts the reunion of Lafayette with his wife and daughters in the prison at Olmütz.

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Editor's Note

Dear Washington, I hope
that papa will come back
soon here. I am very sorry
for the loss of him, but
I am very glade for you self.
I wish you a very good health
and I am with great respect.
Dear sir your most obedient
servt. anastasie la fayette

Paris the 20th June 1795

Page one of the late city edition of *The New York Times* for June 19, 1956, carried a story headlined: "Lafayette Papers Found in Castle." The article was continued on page 31, where the reader found more pictures and additional stories: "Lafayette Notes Cover Vast Field," "An Unused Tower of a Chateau Near Paris Yields Trove of Lafayette's Papers," "U.S. Citizenship of de Chambrun Upheld on His Lafayette Lineage," and "Museum Planned for Lafayette Papers; Archivist Already at Work on the Letters." Count René de Chambrun, a descendant of Lafayette, and his wife, now owners of the Château de La Grange, discovered the papers in the tower in which Lafayette had his bedroom and study. This issue of the *Quarterly Journal* carries Count de Chambrun's own story of the chateau and of the papers that bear particularly on Adrienne, the faithful and courageous wife whom Lafayette had married when he had not yet reached his 17th birthday nor she her 15th.

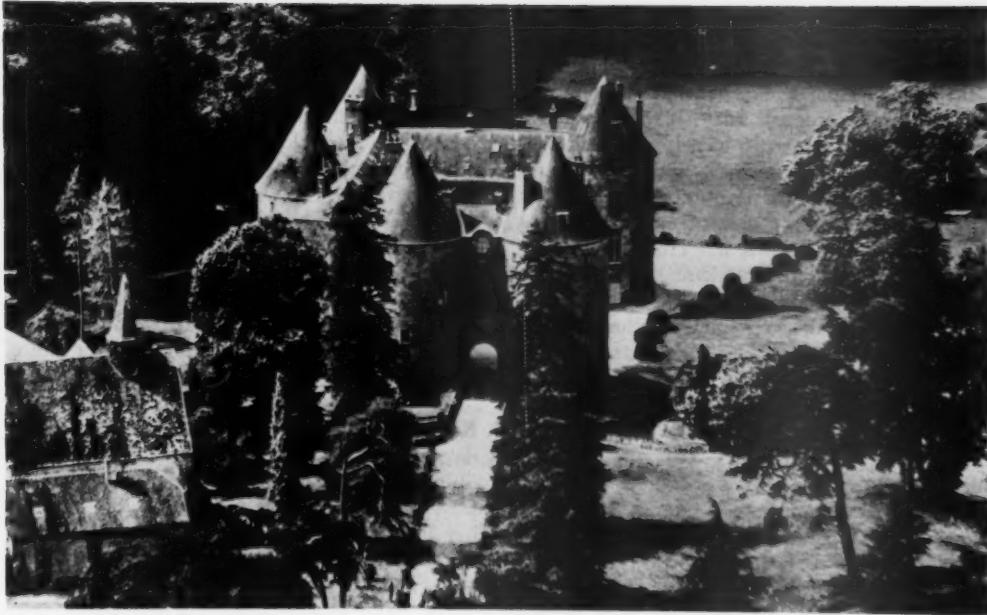
In the pages that follow numerous documents are reproduced—some from La Grange, some from Cornell, and some from the

Library of Congress. Among those from La Grange is a letter written by Adrienne to her daughter Anastasie and smuggled out of the prison on the Rue Notre-Dame-des-Champs in Paris in 1794. Another letter, this by Anastasie to George Washington and datelined Paris, June 18, 1784, by its seven-year-old writer, is reproduced here. Lafayette carried it as well as a letter from Adrienne on his visit to Washington that year. Although, Anastasie writes, she is very sorry for the loss of her father she is "verry glade" for Washington's sake. The daughter had already learned from her greathearted mother that Lafayette's family must share him with others as he pursued "la gloire."

Some 10 years ago a life of Adrienne by André Maurois appeared with a preface by René de Chambrun. There is no apparent connection between this fact and Lincoln's Gettysburg Address. Through one of those coincidences that delight the staff of the LC Publications Office, however, just before this issue of the *Quarterly Journal* appears, an eagerly awaited publication will be delivered from the printer: *Lincoln's Gettysburg Address in Translation*. It owes its existence to the imagination and persistence of Roy P. Basler, chief of the Library's Manuscript Division, author, editor of the collected works of Abraham Lincoln, a poet, and a friend of poets. In his introduction to the collection, Dr. Basler writes: "The compilation of translations of Lincoln's address began a number of years ago as a semiprofessional hobby, growing out of the compiler's admiration for André Maurois' translation of the address into French. That translation appears here by his permission." Dr. Basler proceeded to issue the challenge to "one or more authors in each of the major languages of the world." The result is a collection of translations into 29 languages, beginning with the phrase so well known in English:

Il y a quatre-vingt sept ans . . . Oitenta e sete anos há . . . Ochenta y siete años ha . . . Dreizehn Jahre noch und es wird ein Jahrhundert vergangen sein . . . Vier maal twintig en zeven jaar geleden hebben . . .
 Восемьдесят семь лет тому назад . . . and so on from Arabic to Tagalog. For those who seek the original, a 30th version in English prefaces the collection.

SLW



Adrienne and Lafayette at La Grange

by René de Chambrun

During the year of the American Bicentenary, many articles will appear on Washington and Lafayette—their friendship, their companions in the American War of Independence—but I believe that little if anything will be said of Madame de Lafayette. Schoolchildren in the United States will be told of the hardships of that terrible winter at Valley Forge. The long and freezing months were hard indeed upon the soldiers and officers, hard upon their wives in the neighboring towns and states, but the American officer's wife who doubtless endured the most, being the

farthest from the man she loved on the other side of the Atlantic and the British blockade, was Adrienne de Lafayette. I would like to write a few words about her, before I attempt to take you across the Atlantic for a brief visit to the Château de La Grange, Lafayette's home, which my wife has been restoring since we came into possession of it 16 years ago.

Madame de Lafayette was the daughter of the Duc d'Ayen, one of France's oldest, wealthiest, and noblest families, second only to the King. When Lafayette decided at the age of 19 to join

the cause of American freedom, his father-in-law and mother-in-law violently opposed the plan—Adrienne alone entered her husband's purpose with heroic sympathy. She believed in the justice of the cause; she deeply felt that the person she loved had been appointed to help accomplish it. She was expecting a second child and realized that her husband might never return. She prayed to God for strength, hid her feelings, and pretended to be gay so that her family could not blame her husband for abandoning her.

It was after Lafayette's return to France in 1782 and before the French Revolution of 1789 that Adrienne began to display her extraordinary sense of justice, which she no doubt inherited from her great great-grandfather, the Chancellor d'Aguesseau. It was she who suggested to Lafayette that they purchase the distant slave plantation of La Belle Gabrielle in Cayenne, French Guiana, in order to free the slave labor. The papers that I have found at La Grange show that she organized all the details and established plans for the spiritual education of the Negroes, 80 years before the American Civil War. When later on the horrors of the French Revolution occurred, she was somewhat comforted to learn in her prison cell that the blacks of La Belle Gabrielle were the only ones not to join in the massacres perpetrated by their fellows in the colony.

After the French Revolution had begun and Lafayette became head of the National Guard, Adrienne clearly beheld the dangers of her husband's position. As her daughter Virginie wrote,

René de Chambrun is the owner of Château de La Grange, where Lafayette lived from 1799 until his death in 1834. As a direct descendant of Lafayette, M. de Chambrun holds honorary American citizenship. He is president of the Sons of the American Revolution, French Chapter, whose membership includes the descendants of the 6,000 French officers and soldiers who fought in the French expeditionary force during the War of Independence. After graduating from the Paris Law School, the Sorbonne, and the Ecole des Sciences Politiques, M. de Chambrun became a member of the Paris and New York State Bars and established a practice in international law with offices in London and Paris. In addition, he is president of the Baccarat Crystal Company, which is entering its 207th year. M. de Chambrun is a Knight of the Legion of Honor and has been awarded honorary degrees by several American universities.

she "remained convinced of the good he could do and the evil he could avert." Placed by birth with the forces of conservatism and by marriage with those of "revolution," she steadfastly followed the path of duty, always at the peril of her life. She would, of course, receive all Lafayette's political friends from the left and the extreme left, but one night during the fearful winter of 1792 she ostensibly left her home in order not to receive at her table an apostate bishop who had sworn allegiance to the Revolution. She knew that she was risking her life by so doing. She also knew well that it was equally dangerous to pay a visit to Queen Marie Antoinette upon her return from the arrest at Varennes.

She felt that her position as wife of a leading Republican demanded a public exhibition of her devotion to the church, so she went to Saint Sulpice, where the priest refused from his pulpit to swear allegiance to the state. She turned her house into a sanctuary for the persecuted clergy and the homeless nuns. By doing all this, she was risking personal safety and something much dearer to her, Lafayette's popularity.

When in 1792 her husband took command of the Northern Revolutionary Army against the coalition forces of Europe, she remained at Chavaniac in Auvergne. It was there that she learned of the tragic events of August 10. The King and Queen, whom her family had always served with devotion, were charged with high treason. This shook her very soul. Then came the news that a price had been set on her husband's head. He too was accused by Robespierre of high treason. On August 24, she learned that he had escaped from his command in Belgium. She concealed all his papers, put everything in order, and sent her children into a hiding place in the mountains. In September the news came of Lafayette's arrest by the Coalition Army. She was to hear from him once again in 1793. From prison to prison, Lafayette went to Wesel, Magdebourg in Prussia, and finally Olmütz in Austria.

Soon afterwards came the warrant delivered at Chavaniac against "la femme Lafayette" and her imprisonment at Brioude, then her transfer to the prisons of Paris. Her last message before waiting for her turn to go to the guillotine was to the old family servant Philippe-Nicolas Beauchet, advising him to discontinue his services,

29 Décembre a la marie de ferte
au noe Dame de champs

il y a bien longtems mes chers enfans que vous n'avez
eu de lettres de moi, mais il est vrai que les dernières
étaient un peu plus longues, elles vous avoueront un peu
plus d'oume de mes nouvelles, il y a bien longtems
aussi que je n'ai pas des vostres, vous êtes la continuelle
occupation de ma vie, et que souffre de me faire, et
qu'au moins de mes peines, des plus difficiles à appuyer,
j'espere au moins, que la longueuse de notacionnelle
l'opposition n'peut vous empêcher pas, de lire dans
le cours de vos lettres, et que vous voyez bien que
si elle ajoute un nouvelle l'opposition, et toutes vos
peines, et que ce sacrifice lui est commode pour
l'avantage de voisi faire. — Colombel, presidente
et attache. Les originaux de mes peines, pour faire
son appuyer, j'espere quelques conveances au plus long
temps possible, et alors je ne puis tenir, que je sacrifie
ma liberte. Dans le p. ^{er} devoile de femeine je
demande a la Providence, des forces pour appuyer
la viraulte. de temps et que je tenirai en me mettant
en marche pour aller retrouver mes petits, mes pauvres
enfans, morceaux de l'ame bâton et tress, et pârisse a

Letter written by Adrienne Lafayette to her daughter Anastasie and smuggled out of prison in November 1794. From the La Grange archives.

eux qui n'ose se complaire dans une idée
 touchante, et que je sens pour eux, et qu'il sera
 en facile de juger. Lettre de ma fronde, de mal que
 je l'ai fait, mais fait bientôt de la peine. Elle me cause
 tant d'ennuis, et laisse de mes malheurs personnels, ne
 que l'atmosphère où les siens, ni mes devoirs
 envers elle. Je n'ai pas besoin de vous recommander
 mes chers enfants, l'e la soignez de votre mieux,
 et j'aimerai autant qu'il est en vous, faire ce
 que vous que vous protégez donne la
 chance. Mais on de penible, dans la due
 situation ou vous êtes, je vous que je protège
 bientôt moi même tous vos soins, et vos fous. Je
 ne suis que protégé tous les tentatives de
 vos œuvres, et je suis avec toute la tendresse de celles
 d'une mère. Je vous embrasse tous comme je
 vous aime, et suis dans cette en espèce comme
 je vous aime. Je vous demande d'y être bientôt en corps
 et en ame. Je me porte bien.

H. Lefayette

which, she wrote, "might endanger his life." Every day her faithful maid Marie-Josèphe Beauchet, without her knowledge, came to the prison wicket to inquire if "la citoyenne Lafayette" was still there. She then relayed the message to Madame Lafayette's daughters in Auvergne that their mother was still alive. On July 22, 1794, her mother the Duchesse d'Ayen, her grandmother the Maréchale de Noailles, and her beloved sister Louise de Noailles were beheaded within one hour's time; her own life was saved by Robespierre's downfall and the intervention of the American Ministers in Paris, Gouverneur Morris and James Monroe.

When released from prison a few months later, Adrienne set out accompanied by her two daughters, in disguise and with American passports, to attempt to join Lafayette in Olmütz.

On September 8, 1795, she wrote to Lafayette:

I felt that as your wife I ought to seek no other help than what might be afforded me by the United States. It was for that reason that I sought refuge with their consul in Dunkirk, and took passage on an American ship. The passport issued to me in France by the Committee of Public Safety is to enable us to go to America, and my argument, beloved, is this: that one who is condemned to ostracism can best endure that trial in the company of his wife and children.

The letter, reproduced on pages 86 and 87, was written on board the *Little Cherub* between Dunkirk and Altona and given to a messenger at the latter port when she arrived. Adrienne hid the letter in the binding of one of the large volumes of the first edition of Buffon's works which she had obviously brought from Paris with this purpose in mind. The messenger, to whom she gave a small amount as a bribe for the concierge of the prison, was delayed, having been arrested at the German border, and arrived at Olmütz a few days after Madame de Lafayette and her two daughters. The book was confiscated by the Austrian authorities but was later returned to the Lafayette family, together with their other belongings.

I found both the letter and the book among the materials at La Grange. The letter had been placed by Lafayette in his wallet, between a lock of George Washington's hair and one of Thomas

Jefferson's. Jefferson had given his as a souvenir to Lafayette during his last stay at Monticello. The lock was in a small envelope on which Jefferson had written "the last but not least." The wallet is now in Madame de Lafayette's boudoir, next to Buffon's book.

In the same letter Adrienne had expressed her intention "to travel by sea from Dunkirk to Altona and thence to proceed with scarcely a halt to Olmütz." It was several weeks, however, before she reached her destination.

In Vienna she obtained with great difficulty an audience from the Emperor, who flatly refused to liberate Lafayette but gave her permission to join him in the dungeon of Olmütz. It took them six more long days before the driver from the top of a hill pointed out with his whip the tower of a prison still some distance away. She burst into tears of joy and said to her daughters, "mes chères petites, you will never live long enough to thank God for this." The next morning everything that they had brought from Paris to alleviate Lafayette's miseries—food, papers, books, knives and forks—was confiscated.

Lafayette had not spoken to a human being and had been completely isolated from the outside world for nearly one year, when suddenly, on October 15, 1795, the door of his narrow cell was thrown open. Into the dim room entered a woman and two children. This was the most dramatic instant of his life. The first thought that flashed into his mind was that he had become all of a sudden insane. From that day on Adrienne was to become indispensable to him. Until then, he had "accepted her love and devotion" but had not always been entirely fair to her. After Olmütz his complete appreciation of her was never to waver again.

A few weeks later, deprived of outside air, both daughters, who had to share a small bed, caught an infectious fever, and Adrienne broke down with blood poisoning. She wrote to Vienna for permission to spend a week in the hospital. Two months elapsed before the answer came: she could leave but would never return to her husband. Her reply to the Austrian Minister of War was that she "would continue to share Lafayette's captivity, in every detail." She did so for 20 more months. All four ate with their fingers out of the same tin plate, and Adrienne wrote for

J. Lhuillier — à bord du Little Chouk — marine canadienne
Cap' Sindou — de Boston. 27 juill. 1795

je suis donc libré, mon cher père, puisque je vous
suis dans le chemin qui me rapproche de vous. Série de ma
joie, etc. etc., que je ne puis vous la perdre, que vous
disez que je me rapproche ^{peut-être} d'elles en vain capable d'en
éprouver ^{peut-être} de la joie, après nos malheurs. Il empêche
le reste de ma vie, mais je sens que le père de ces
qui pouvoit détruire, ma île éprouve, puisque je vous
retrouve. et alors me renouer, peut-être pied de l'effacement
nos peuples qui l'ont avec moi, partagé la loue, et je vous
des ames, avec la confiance, que vous levez coûte. etc.,
et la certitude que vous êtes un heureux père, et qu'il
fera dommage que de pareils enfans, n'en eussent pas un
tel que vous. alors, fils et à Boston, j'ai reçu des
nouvelles de ton avenir, j'en suis aussi bien plus contente
que je ne suis le dire. vous devois les motifs de toute ma
conduite, de mes demandes, pourquoi je me sens décidée
à prendre cette route, et cest moi-même mon cher père,
qui vous expliquerai toute cette — je suis persuadé que vous
n'avez pas été toujours jadis envers moi, mais j'ai l'espérance
de vous convaincre, que dans loue ce que j'ai fait, il n'y a pas
un seul détail de ma conduite, que vous n'auriez approuvé
si vous ne l'eussiez fait vous-même — vous jugez à quel
point il m'étoit nécessaire devoir au moins été rationnellement

dans l'abyme l'horreur, ou nous nous plongeons, et pas l'oyal
nous allons ~~prolonger~~ ^{prolonger} l'appasé, avec que je puisse me pliquer
plus au long avec vous, ma marche de l'avenir indigne de
l'affidance, que le parti que j'ai pris de venir pour mea
de Dunkerque a ~~ait~~ ^{été} de la ~~et~~ ^à l'omély prolonger dans
marquer, n'a eu pour objet que de mêler de toutes les
partis il ma paix, et l'expérience de nos lois connues de
captivité, viene a l'appuy de ce que je pense, qu'il appartient
de vous devoir convenablement, que ce qui est unique
a vous, et qui cherche dans cette a niter que indigne de
vous ! il me semble aussi que votre femme ne devrait
reclamer d'autre protection que celle des Etats-Unis, aussi
ai-je logé chez leur Consul a Dunkerque, et ^{me} ~~me~~ je
~~retrouvez~~ ^{trouve} leur un naziat comme moi partage que
me donné le Cte de fabre public, en France, et vous
nous y rendez, et mon argumente cheai, est que l'Angleterre
est condamné a l'assassinat, on peut debat cette peine
avec la femme et les enfans ! Si après ce bien de
vous rejoindre, je puis jamais ajouter celui de vous
devoir, et de paix ensemble, pour la tise de la liberté
il ne me restera que vous conjurer de venir avec
moi, celui qui gouverne toutes choses, ~~que~~ ^{de} ~~qui~~ ^{que} cette
miserable ~~que~~ ^{de} la peine de chose, puisqu'il a permis qu'elle
fut li emmeneur enlevé a celles que nous délivrons
mais qui devoir a garder nous rendez a tous deux si
propre celle que nous a conservé ~~que~~ ^{de} que je finirai
ette lettre a athina

her children the story of her mother's life, with a toothpick on the margins of a book. Of this period little known to Americans, Madame de Staél writes "antiquity offers nothing more admirable than the conduct of the Lafayettes in the prison of Olmütz."

Bonaparte's victories over the Austrians threw open the gates of Olmütz in 1797. Lafayette and Adrienne took refuge in Holland because of Lafayette's opposition to the excesses of the French Revolution, which had made him *persona non grata* in his native land.

Adrienne returned to France alone to attempt to pave the way for Lafayette's return. She was completely ruined when she arrived in Paris accompanied by Virginie. She had known the town in the old days of private coaches and grand families. She had also known it as a city of prisons and "sans culottes." In July 1798, however, she found a mixture of destitution and

luxury. She was given bed and board by her old family servants, the Beauchets. They put their small two-room lodging at the disposal of the two ladies and retreated to the attics where they had hidden the Lafayette possessions, which we have been finding and arranging at La Grange. Adrienne immediately settled down to work. The first thing to be done was to have her and her sisters' rights of succession to their beheaded mother and grandmother recognized and to get Lafayette back to France. This was to take more than a year.

Adrienne's inheritance included La Grange, a 15th-century castle some 35 miles east of Paris. The castle was abandoned and uninhabitable when Adrienne began to work there with the help of an architect friend, Antoine Vaudoyer. Her first task was to repair the roof and to start painting and furnishing Lafayette's room and his adjoining library. During the first months, she

La Grange.



would sometimes travel to Paris on foot, in a couple of days, stopping halfway at a small inn or staying with some friends. From his exile in Holland, Lafayette wrote to Adrienne: "You must have suffered cruelly from that inflammation on your lungs—I do implore you to take care of yourself. There must be no more going on foot to Paris and you must always drive when you have errands to do in distant quarters of the city." Madame de Lafayette's greatest concern was to find the hidden ditch where the beheaded bodies of her grandmother, mother, and sister Louise lay with the other victims of the Terror. With her sister, Madame de Montagu, they one day found the dreaded hole. They were too poor to buy the surrounding land, so they raised a subscription among the victims' kin. They built a chapel on the site of the one the Revolution had destroyed at Picpus. They kissed and blessed the earth and planted a cross where their beloved ones lay. They built walls around the chapel and erected a convent to lodge the Order of Perpetual Adoration. Adrienne designed the white bonnets which the nuns still wear today and the bleeding hearts embroidered on their dresses. In the chapel, on two aisles facing the common ditch, night and day, the nuns take turns reciting the following prayer, written by Adrienne on her deathbed, a prayer that has never stopped being said:

Donnez-leur, Seigneur, le repos éternel.
Pardonnez à leurs geôliers.
Pardonnez à leurs juges.
Pardonnez à leurs bourreaux
et pardonnez à ceux qui n'ont pas su pardonner.

At last Lafayette was given permission by Bonaparte to return to France in November 1799, and he spent his first night at La Grange around Christmas. Letters began coming from America. His most frequent correspondents were Madison, Monroe, Jefferson, and John Quincy Adams. We have found hundreds and hundreds of letters written in those days and also copies that Lafayette kept of the letters he wrote. Someday a historian will have to check to see whether the originals correspond to the copies which were successful in crossing the British blockade. I have found many descriptions of La Grange in these letters written to American friends. To Madison,

Lafayette wrote on December 1, 1802:

. . . let me therefore stick to my rural abode and agricultural pursuits. I live in an agreeable place about forty miles from Paris. My children are with me. . . . I have by exchanges with my neighbors succeeded to surround the house and farm buildings with one whole tract of land upwards of six hundred acres, four hundred arable, the remainder woods, pastures, ground fit to be turned into meadow, vineyard, orchard, etc. . . . Had I in my power a large sum of money, I might set up a profitable and to me delightful farming establishment. . . .

On September 10, 1807, he wrote to Jefferson:

. . . part of that capital has fitted my Mansion, and increased its revenue. . . . each of our three children has on marriage day received from us a Landed Revenue of three thousand francs a year and the assurance, hypothecated on La Grange of an equal sum after our death. . . . I have therefore to live upon the grounds I farm. . . . Our house is large enough to contain us, and the woods about it fully equal to all wants of fuel. Should all my debts, improving, and housing capital be paid as I have said, and the revenue of 2500 dollars be insured, I would be settled on a very pleasant farm, agricultural employment and sufficient income. . . .

Those were the happy years which ran from 1800 to 1807. The grandchildren were growing up at La Grange, and the farm was beginning to pay off the heavy debts. Alas, toward the fall of 1807, Adrienne's blood poisoning from Olmütz began to reassert its virulent strength. In October 1807, all the family assembled by her bedside. For weeks she was desperately ill. Lafayette never left her, except to fall asleep from exhaustion. One day he asked her, "Do you remember my first departure for America, how all the world was in arms against me, and you managed to hide your tears at de Segur's wedding? You did not want to look unhappy for fear I would be blamed." And she replied, "How sweet of you to remember things that happened so long ago. . . ." One day she clasped his hand

Next page: Letter from John Adams to Lafayette dated April 6, 1801. Of particular interest are Adams' comments on government and his evaluation of Lafayette's "principal Deliverer from Olmütz," Napoleon. From the La Grange archives.

Stony Field, Quincy April 6. 1801

Dear Sir

I have received from Mr Pichon, your favour of the 10th of January, and while I feel my obligations to you for your kind remembrance of me, I very heartily rejoice with you in your return to your native Country.

The new Superintendent of the commercial relations between France and the United States, will I presume be very well received here, and the better by most men for the Part he acted in Holland, in promoting the late negotiation.

"I live also, with my Family in a rural "solitary place of retirement" after an uninterrupted Toil of Six and Twenty years in the Service of the Public. Like you also "I preserve the Love, the Doctrines and "the Independence of true Liberty." It is a lamentable Truth that Mankind, have always been ill treated by Government, and a most unfortunate Circumstance which renders the Soil totally desparate is, that they are never so ill used as when they take the Government into their own hands. - The Doctrines

of Sansculottism are productive of more plagues than those of Sir Robert Filmer, while they last.

I am glad you are on good terms with your principal Deceiver from Ornate, who did honor to his own head and heart by his wise and generous conduct on that occasion. How extraordinary that character! Is it not unique? As it has been my fortune to conduct a negotiation with him, I may without offence wish him a greater glory than ever yet fell to the lot of any conqueror before him, that of giving ^{to} Peace to Europe and liberty and good government to France.

your country by Adoption has grown and prospered since you saw it. You would scarcely know it, if you should make it a visit. It would be a great pleasure to the farmer of Stony Field to take you by the hand in his little chambres.

Mr Adams, who is all the family I have, joins me in respectfull attachment to you and your Lady and Family. With great regard I have the honor to be
dear Sir, your most obedient and very humble

Servant John Adams

The Citizen de Lafayette

in the presence of the children and said, "If only God could let us have six more little years at La Grange." On Christmas Eve, after a life of continuous self-sacrifice and devotion, she died like a saint. As her last words she uttered a prayer and then, turning to Lafayette, who was holding her hand, she said, "Je suis tout à vous."

She was buried at Picpus, exactly where she chose to rest, 10 feet from the common ditch.

A few days later, Lafayette wrote to La Tour-Maubourg, his companion of captivity, "Until now, you have always found me stronger than circumstances—today the *circumstance* is stronger than I...." The letter goes on for pages and pages.

To Madame de Staël he wrote, ". . . the soul has disappeared from La Grange. . . ."

Broken-hearted, Lafayette walled in Adrienne's room, and he alone kept the key for the one remaining door until his death. Every Christmas Eve, he would spend most of the night at Adrienne's desk, writing long letters to her chambermaid Madame Beauchet. I found these poignant letters in the attics of La Grange. They were returned to his daughter Virginie after Lafayette's death.

Lafayette was only 50 when Adrienne died, but he suddenly felt that he had become an old man, a spectator of the scene of life. He seldom left La Grange, where he led a farmer's life. He was awakened by Bastien, his valet, at five in the morning and remained in bed for two hours writing to the friends of liberty all over the world: Poles, Hungarians, Greeks, Spaniards and Portuguese, North and South Americans. Then he would send Bastien away and, alone on his knees, holding in his hand a small portrait of Adrienne and a lock of her hair, he would spend a quarter of an hour in meditative devotion. For 27 years the memory of Adrienne and the cause of liberty everywhere were like a personal religion to Lafayette. He remained at La Grange until 1830, except during the years 1824-25, when he visited the United States for the last time.

In 1830 he left La Grange to head the second Revolution of France. Four years later, as they had done 27 years before, three loving children assembled around their parent's bedside. The pale light of the morning was beginning to show

through the yellow silk curtains, when they noticed that their father's hand was feeling about for the locket on his breast. His son helped him find it. He brought it to his lips. Two days later he joined Adrienne at Picpus forever.

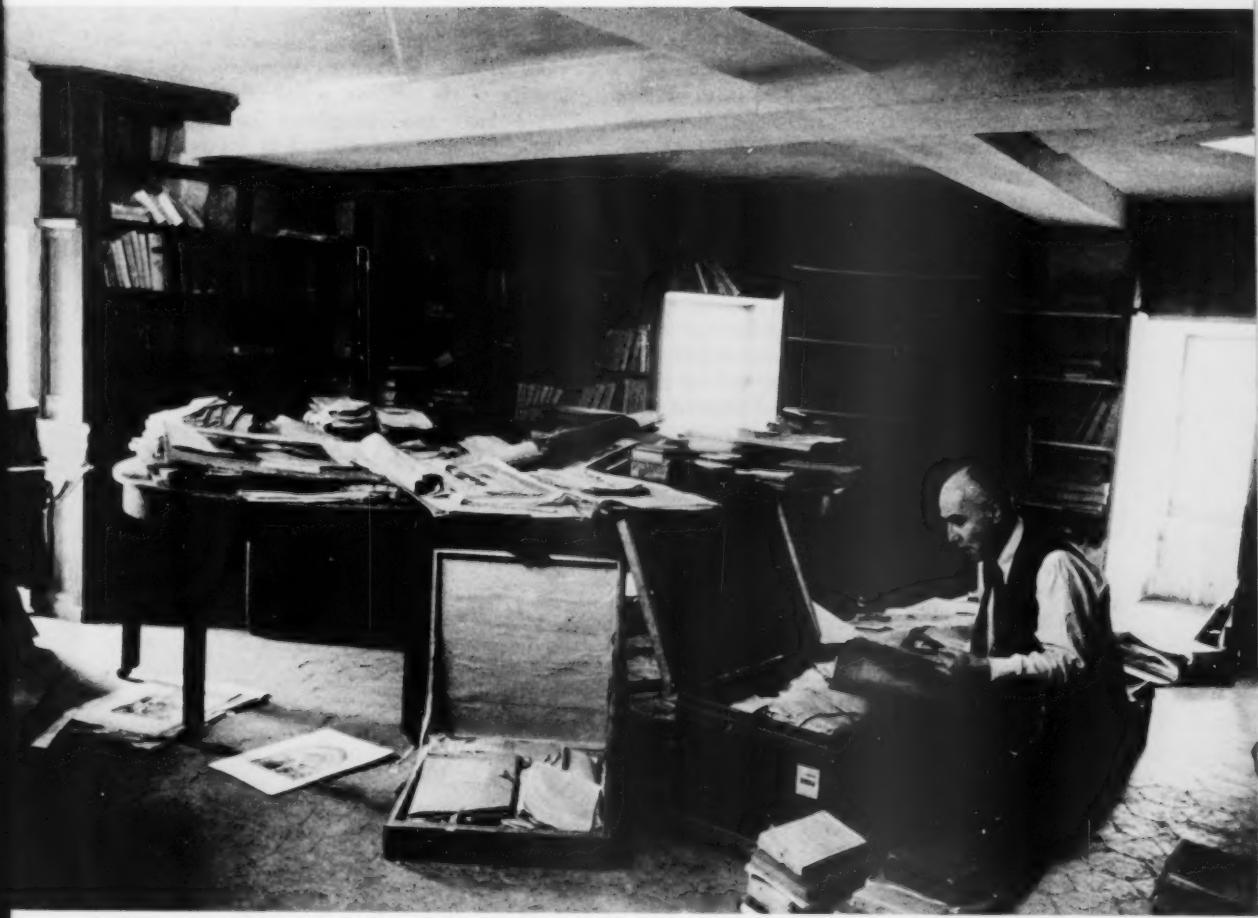


And now I will attempt to bring you for a few moments to the La Grange which another woman, Madame de Chambrun, more than a century and a half after Adrienne, has been arranging as it was when the Lafayettes lived there.

Several miracles have contributed to preserving the treasures we have been discovering over the past decade. The first miracle was the total devotion of the Beauchets to Adrienne de Noailles Lafayette. At the risk of their own lives, as I already wrote, they hid everything they could—books, papers, pieces of furniture—during the last four stormy years of the Revolution, while Adrienne was being dragged from prison to prison.

A few years after Lafayette's death his grandson Jules de Lasteyrie, the owner of La Grange, married Olivia de Chabot, a British lady, daughter of a French noble family of "émigrés" who had fought against the Revolution and Lafayette. This strong-willed British Tory, who lived at La Grange for 54 years until 1899, preferred British books, British papers, and British engravings to Lafayette's books, papers, and engravings. When her husband Jules died, she carefully removed practically everything that had belonged to Lafayette to the attics of the third floor, which Lafayette used to call the "Couloir des Polonais," the hiding place of free Poles.

One winter night in 1870 the Prussian Army took from La Grange two cannons which the people of Paris had given to Lafayette during the Revolution of 1830. Olivia de Lasteyrie disliked these cannons because they were Lafayette's and had had them removed to the farm. Nevertheless, she considered them to be part of her castle. When the valet announced the theft, Olivia rose from her bed, put her coat on over her dressing gown, and in her nightcap caught up with the little troop in a snow-covered village two miles



The author at work in one of the rooms of the "Couloir des Polonais" at La Grange.

away. She argued with the German lieutenant, saying she was British and not at war with the Germans, won her case, and brought back the two cannons. My wife has had the four wooden wheels repaired, and the cannons are now in one of the exhibit rooms.

Olivia de Lasteyrie arranged to have her only son marry her British niece, a Miss Goodlake. The couple courageously remained at La Grange during the battle of the Marne, and the German cavalry bypassed the place on September 4, 1914, a day before Marshal Joffre's victory and two days before Lafayette's birthday.

Their son, my cousin Louis de Lasteyrie, continued the battle of La Grange, dedicating his life to the preservation of what he regarded as his mother's and his own castle rather than Lafayette's. He stayed there during the entire occupation, alone except for one devoted servant who remained with us until only recently. Louis' life of poverty and sacrifice saved La Grange once again.

Louis de Lasteyrie and I had the same ancestor, Lafayette's daughter Virginie, and I was one of his nearest relatives. In 1935 he asked me if my wife and I would accept La

Grange as a legacy. We offered to purchase the place from him, with the understanding that he would remain there in peace as long as he lived. Louis de Lasteyrie died in the fall of 1955. That winter we began to open the rooms in the "Couloir des Polonais," and our discoveries are still continuing. Preservation of the treasures of La Grange has benefited greatly from the miraculous absence of rats, mice, humidity, and excessive dryness, as well as from the thickness of the stone walls. As my wife's admiration for Madame de Lafayette is unbounded, we decided that together we would rearrange the castle as a museum dedicated to Lafayette and to the admirable partner of his heart. We are doing this without removing the British relics, as we believe they have now well deserved to remain forever part of La Grange. It is our desire, of course, that the wing where Lafayette and Adrienne lived be exactly as it was during those "years of total happiness" that stood out in Adrienne's mind on her deathbed.

To guide us in our work, we have obtained all the bills corresponding to the restoration of La Grange between 1799 and 1807. We have

also used the correspondence of Lafayette and his children and a book published in 1836 by Jules Cloquet, Lafayette's doctor, in which the interior of the château is described in detail.

We have now completed Lafayette's bedroom. The drawers are full of his belongings, and the walls are covered with the pictures and etchings Adrienne hung there for him. The same clock marks the time. His library contains his own desk, his chairs, and 3,400 of his books, catalogs, and diaries. The room James Fenimore Cooper occupied during his visits to La Grange, where he had his own library, is also completely restored. My wife has finished Adrienne's room and her boudoir, two large exhibit rooms, the parlors, and the dining room. She is now completing the quarters of Olivia de Rohan-Chabot Lasteyrie. It will take several years, however, to identify and sort the tens of thousands of papers which fill three rooms in the attic.

The part of the work Madame de Chambrun and I are unable to complete will be carried out after us by the Josée and René de Chambrun Foundation.

The Lafayette Collection at Cornell

by Mary F. Daniels

Through the generosity of Ambassador and Mrs. Arthur H. Dean, the Cornell University Library acquired in 1963 the "Fabius" Collection of material by and concerning General Lafayette. A vast archive of manuscript and printed material which deals with every aspect of the general's public career, the Arthur H. and Mary Marden Dean Lafayette Collection numbers more than 10,000 individual items.

Further expanded by the acquisition of a large portion of the Blancheteau Collection in 1966, the collection offers pictorial material of great interest, as well as pamphlets, charts, maps, and printed books.¹

In the United States the name of Lafayette is first associated with the Revolutionary War, and the man has become a metaphor for Franco-American friendship. Yet Lafayette lived on until 1834, involved in French political life and the development of European liberalism, in the French and Belgian revolutions as well as the Polish and Italian struggles for liberation. Throughout, his enthusiasm and adherence to libertarian principle survived the most extreme personal and public trials.

The collection of materials in the Cornell archives, originally housed in the Chateau of Chavaniac, offers individual manuscripts of great significance, as well as detailed files of complementary interest. An accurate assessment of portions of the collection awaits the social historian; for the biographer there is unpublished material which gives new insight into the career of the provincial aristocrat who sought both *gloire* and *liberté*.²

Family, Schooldays, and Marriage

The collection contains two letters in the hand of Lafayette's father, both written shortly before his death on the battlefield at Minden in 1759. One is addressed to his sister, Mademoiselle du Motier; the other, to his mother, concerns money which she has sent to him for horses:

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I'm very grateful for this new act of generosity on your part as I am annoyed at the upset I cause. It's shameful to leave you without a penny. I know I've been extravagant. . . . I found them [the horses] young and strong, though expensive, and they can be used for a carriage team.³

His postscript adds a bit of prosaic medical advice for his sister and a mention of his young son:

I've seen M. de Salvia. I bought him dinner and told him about my sister's inflamed eyelids. He says to do nothing and it will disappear. I kiss my son.⁴

Most of the two dozen letters written by Lafayette's mother are addressed to her mother-in-law at Chavaniac. From Paris, where she had rejoined her father's household after the death of her husband, she sent lengthy letters dealing with family and business concerns. When her son came to the capital to begin his studies at the Collège du Plessis, she commented on his health and appearance in her letters to his aunts and grandmother in Auvergne. Writing to her son from her sickbed, she assures him of her love, though utilizing a secretary:

I see, my dear boy, that it's quite some time since you've written to me, but you've given me such good reasons for it, I can hardly reproach you. . . . I'm very pleased your boots fit you better, since I'm concerned with all your little worries; just consider how much more I think of the important things.⁵

Later the marquise writes of her recovery, which, she says, should make her son "believe in God's wisdom . . . and reflect on the uncertainty and fragility of this life."⁶ She was to die in 1770, leaving her only child an orphan barely in his teens.

Among the documents dealing with the business affairs of the Lafayette and La Rivière families are a number of personal letters addressed to Lafayette by his grandfather, the Marquis de La Rivière, and his great-grandfather, the Comte de La Rivière. Characterized by affection and humor, the letters date from 1764, when Lafayette's grandfather responded to the New Year's greeting sent by the seven-year-old marquis.

Your grandfather and your great-grandfather have been very pleased to receive your marks of affection and wishes for a happy new year.⁷

In 1768 Lafayette left Chavaniac for Paris and the Collège du Plessis, where his intellectual training was "entirely conventional. It consisted chiefly of Latin . . . and Lafayette had a special aptitude for it."⁸ This aptitude is almost regrettably noted in a letter from his grandfather written during the period 1768-70.

I must answer your two letters, my dear grandson, one in Latin, the other in French. Were I not so rusty I would respond to the former in the same tongue you've used, but if I made a slip, you'd make fun of me . . . so I will say now in French that I love you and see with pleasure the progress you've made.⁹

In the draft of a letter addressed to an unknown correspondent, Lafayette himself describes his early years, with special emphasis on the period spent at the Collège du Plessis. The text of this draft has been published in Etienne Charavay's biography,¹⁰ but with the deletion of a significant paragraph in which Lafayette comments on the loss of conventional religious faith. He describes the Abbé Fayon, his childhood tutor, who had accompanied him to Paris and was retained in the household at the Luxembourg Palace.

My tutor was still staying with me. He was distraught at the complete disappearance of my devoutness. He was a vigorous believer—sure that it was enough to spend an hour arguing over Voltaire and Rousseau to reduce them to an absurdity.¹¹

The same manuscript contains a far more detailed account of his family than does the *Mémoires*, as well as a description of his schooldays.

I was very good in Latin; I wasn't made to take Greek, which annoyed me. I spent four years at the Collège. My essays were quite outstanding . . . I lost one prize because of the impossibility for me of copying out precisely what I had written. Everyone congratulated me on my assured triumph, but I was extremely surprised not to be named among the prize-winners. They had counted every word of a forgotten phrase as a mistake in my Latin translation . . . I can

say that I was very popular at school . . . I wanted to stir up a disturbance to halt the unjust punishment of one of my friends; I was not as well supported as I wished. As for me, no one suggested any punishment, I was judged not to merit it. I could, I thought, defend myself well enough with my sword, since according to the noble custom then, when going to dine in the city, the boys wore their sword, which was quite becoming with their embroidered suits, wig-bag, and their oiled and powdered curls.¹³

Writing to Lafayette's paternal grandmother in 1769, the Marquis de La Rivière describes the 12-year-old boy:

Let me return now, madame, to our grandson. . . . He is built like a man of thirty. . . . He's made a good beginning at his school, gets along perfectly well. . . . I like to think that he facially resembles his poor father. I can't see how he could be improved upon in any respect.¹⁴

The death of the Marquis de La Rivière in 1770, closely following that of Lafayette's mother, vastly increased the holdings and income of the young marquis. Among the documents concerned with the transferral of estates in Brittany are a number of inventories, frankly assessing the worth of the furnishings in the manor houses. At Kaufrait, for example, the listing notes the presence of "eighteen chairs and a sofa upholstered in a very worn and moth-eaten green fabric" and "seven pieces of banded tapestry depicting great men, very old and worn, nibbled by rats."¹⁵ The furnishings of a servant's chamber opening off the kitchen might be interpreted as a metaphor for the *ancien régime*:

Two small beds, one covered with a very worn cover of printed cotton, the other with very worn and torn green serge. A battered pallet and a mattress in very poor condition, two feather bolsters in bad condition, two shabby white wool blankets, a quilt, a small dressing table in bad condition & a coffee grinder. There is a carpet in this room, with holes, of red flowers on a yellow background, torn and moth-eaten, as well as a picture of the King, lacking a frame.¹⁶

By 1773 arrangements were completed for the marriage of Lafayette to Marie Adrienne Françoise de Noailles, a daughter of the Duc d'Ayen. The Comte de La Rivière had negotiated this alliance between his family and that of the

De Noailles, one of the most influential of the great houses of France.

The manuscript "Articles de Mariage" of October 1772 is dated only a month after the Duc and Duchesse d'Ayen had decided to marry their second daughter to the Marquis de Lafayette. The document is apparently a preliminary form of the final contract, which was to be the product of months of negotiation. Its 16 articles are essentially concerned with financial arrangements, particularly the bride's dowry and her prerogatives. Note is discreetly made of the d'Ayens' obligations to provide dowries for their remaining daughters.

Accompanying the draft on the contract is a letter from the Comte de La Rivière addressed to Lafayette's maiden aunt at Chavaniac, concerning gifts for the future marquise. The comte also notes Lafayette's favorable impression upon his fiancée's family.

I've given, Mademoiselle, Abbé Fayon a release for my granddaughter's diamonds, which he brought to me, saying that you had sent them . . . M. le Marquis de Lastie on your behalf brought me the box containing the old snuff-boxes and the other jewelry a few days ago . . . You have forgotten to send me the silverplate; we're going to make good use of that as we must re-set all the diamonds in fashionable style.
Our boy rides very well and his other exercises give him a great deal of pleasure. All the De Noailles think him charming, which pleases me. The terms of the marriage contract are not completely fixed yet, the De Noailles are more eager than I to reach a settlement, though I'll be happy enough to relinquish my guardianship.¹⁷

The earliest letter written by Lafayette in the collection concerns, interestingly enough, the complicated arrangements of marriages among the aristocracy. Written to his cousin Coudine de La Fayette (later the Marquise d'Abos), the letter may deal with the efforts to contract a marriage for the young marquis before the ultimate agreement with the Duc d'Ayen, though it is couched in the third person.¹⁸

Cousin's proposed marriage is broken off, there's another in the wind, but we must be very discreet. Mademoiselle de Roncherolles, positioned

Articles de Mariage

Art. 1^{er}

Le Roi le R^eigneur et Damoiselle future épouse nous
le Commandeur en l'ordre du Temple meubler et conguer la jumelle
épousant la Coutume de Paris, audience et laquelle leur
communauté sera regie et partagée quand bien même
ils seroient par la naissance leurs demeures ou des acquisitions
cuedes p^{re}ys, dont le R^eigneur l'ordre et Esage aeroient
contraria auxquels il est expressément dérogé arroncé
à cet Ordre.

Art. 2.

Le R^eigneur maintiendront le R^eigneur et Damoiselle
future épouse tenue des dettes a hypothèque l'un de l'
l'autre j'auront et auront avou la célébration de leur mariage
et s'il y en a aucun, elles seront acquittées par
celui du chef duquel elles procederont au leur bien
bien, et au que l'autre, c'est-à-dire au cas de la dite
communauté en l'ordre aucunement tenue.

Art. 3.

Le R^eigneur du futur mariage madame la Duchesse
D'aven autrefois de Montpensier le Duc D'aven
à constituer en dot à la d^e Damoiselle future épouse
la somme de 100000. francs. l'anné
à gageure pour le tout sur la succession future
d'aqueille somme demeurera assise à constitution
de rente annuelle Vingt entre les mains des dits
R^eigneur et Dame Duc et Duchesse D'aven, qui
en conséquence ont constitué à mad. Damoiselle
future épouse 100000 francs de rente que

much as Mademoiselle de Bourbon, with a thousand ecus of income and five thousand in rents; that's her story My uncle, who came to see me the other day, agrees to the marriage on the condition that the Prince de Condé will promise [the command of] one of his regiments of cavalry to cousin Nephew isn't concerned about marriage. He has said that there are better matches in his own district, whom he has named, and no one could contradict him.¹⁸

Role in the American Revolution

The decision of the young Marquis de Lafayette to join the rebellious colonists in America has been a subject of intense study and controversy. To his hagiographers, it was a selfless act, motivated by his political and philosophical idealism. To Marat, an extravagant detractor, it was "a lover's adventure, prompted by a Messalina."¹⁹ In his *Mémoires*, written at a later date, Lafayette simply states that "from the first news of this quarrel my heart was enlisted."²⁰ A tempered rationale may be the most useful. Lafayette, a young man, educated as a soldier, deprived of a command in France, with a hatred for England deepened by the loss of his father on the battlefield at Minden, and frustrated by a powerful father-in-law, might well seek *gloire* in America. Apart from the very real service which he rendered to the colonists, the most important result of Lafayette's American experience was that "out of a few catchwords which the American agents had exploited and the necessity for finding a rational explanation for his own extravagant conduct was born the liberalism of the foremost European exponent of the liberal creed in two succeeding generations."²¹

Among Lafayette's letters are 16 written to Madame Lafayette from America; the original texts are complemented by a 34-leaf notebook of transcriptions made by Adrienne Lafayette.

Bound with pink, silk ribbon, the notebook is headed "Letters written to me by M. de la Fayette during his travels in America. First trip, 1777." Lafayette's letter to his wife written "at the moment of his departure, of which I

A draft of the marriage contract drawn up between the young Marquis de Lafayette and Adrienne de Noailles.

Elles que m^{me} de la famille ~~meilleure~~^{meilleure}, pendant les voyages
en amérique, première voyage en 1777
Lettre 1^{re} au moment de leur séparation depuis qu'il a
écarté.
" Je suis trop coupable, pour me justifier, je suis trop malheureux pour
pouvoir me montrer incongru. Si j'avais été dans une situation plus malheu-
reux affaire, je ne serais pas à peine de celles malheureuses les dommages, mais
ma grande idée domine, et je mourrais plutôt que de manquer de moi. Si les deux
vous expliquera mes folies, ne m'en blâmez pas malhonnêtement, mais
malheureusement. Je n'aurai jamais compris pourquoi je vous aime-
me, je n'aurai pas fait, les que nos engagements de nos amitiés, abus, né-
gligé, tout, ayant à mon cœur, tout le jour, combatis notre être heureux, ce cœur, tout
vous me plonge plus que vous ne faites heureux, pour ajouter à mon malheu-
reux que j'aime votre voix que je suis bien content de partie, une partie, ut-
til pour vous, abus, j'ai reçu cette lettre pour la dernière, je suis mal-
heureux, pour vous, on va malentendre bien long, j'ai une grande horreur à
l'homme que vous aimez de tout son cœur, et qui se croit malheureux de
vous qu'il va perdre tout pour vous.

The opening leaf of the notebook of copies of Lafayette's letters from America, transcribed by his wife.

[Madame Lafayette] knew nothing" is a justification of his action, based on principle and the honor of his sworn word.

I am too guilty to excuse myself, but I am too cruelly punished not to merit a pardon. Had I known that I would suffer so dreadfully, I would not now be the unhappiest of men, but my word is given, and I would die rather than break it.²³

After a tedious sea voyage, Lafayette wrote from the home of Major Huger, his first American host: "The manners of this country are

A bord de la victoire le 22 Mai

C'est de bien loin que je vous écrit, mon cher cœur, et à ce cruel éloignement je joins l'inquiétude
— mon plus affreux du temps où je pourrai savoir de vos nouvelles. J'espérai pendant ce mois
bientôt, parmi tant d'autres voulus qui me sont devois l'assurer, aucune ne me donne autant
l'insécurité que celle là. que de crainte, que de trouble, j'ai à joindre au chagrin déjà si vif de me
separer de tant ce que j'ai de plus cher. comment pourrai-je pas mon regard départir sans avoir tout aimé?
mauvais vous pardonné? avoir tout oublié que dans tous les cas il falloit être séparé de vous, et tout en Italie, et traînant une vie sans plaisir au milieu des personnes les plus opposées à mes projets, et à ma
façon de penser. Tant ces affections ne m'ont pas empêché de passer un moment assez heureux dans ces
tristes moments qui me séparent du chagrin. des regrets, avec de mes amies, votre sœur, Henriette,
tout l'est représenté à mon ame d'une manière déchirante. c'est bien alors que je ne me trouve plus
douce. si vous savez tout ce que j'ai souffert, mon cher cœur, les tristes journées que j'ai passées en
écoutant tout ce que j'aime au monde. j'espérai je a malheur celui d'apprendre que vous ne me
rendriez pas en ventre, mon cœur, je crois trop à plaindre. mais je ne vous parle pas de moi. Je
me sens, et je sais que ces détails vous intéressent.

je sais depuis ma dernière lettre dans le plus dévouement des pôles; la mer est si triste, et nous nous
attritionnons mutuellement elle et moi. je devrai être assise, mais les vents sont évidemment
contrarie, et je ne me sens pas avant huit ou dix jours à Charlesbourg. c'est là que je compte débarquer
et c'est là une grande plaisir pour moi. une fois arrivée j'aurai tous les jours l'espérance de recevoir des
nouvelles de France, j'espérai tant de chose interminables et sur ce que je suis trouvée, et surtout
sur ce que j'ai laissé avec tant de regret! pourriez que j'apprenne que vous vous portez bien, que vous n'avez
toujours, et que la ~~—~~ certain nombre d'amis sont dans le même cas, je serai l'âme philosophie
satisfait sur tout le reste de quelque espèce et de quelque genre qu'ils puissent être. mais aussi si mon
cœur étoit attaqué dans un endroit bien sensible, si vous, mon cher cœur, vous me maniez plus tôt
je l'aurai trop malheureuse. mais je ne dis pas le contraire, n'est ce pas mon cher cœur? j'ai été bien
malade dans les premiers tems de mon voyage et j'aurai pu me donner la consolation de me chagrin
qui est de souffrir en nombreuse compagnie. je me suis traité à ma manière et vous étes plutôt guéri

This letter, begun on the 30th of May 1777 on board the Victoire, was completed at the home of Lafayette's first American host, Major Huger, on June 15. It is the first of 16 letters written to Adrienne Lafayette by her husband during his first stay in the United States.

simple, honest and dignified . . . everything resounds with the noble name of liberty."²³

Lafayette's letter to his wife dated 1 October 1777 describes his successful recovery from a wound suffered during the battle of Brandywine, and he continues to instruct her in the proper responses to any criticism or skepticism concerning the American cause expressed in French circles.

And now, seeing that you are the wife of a Major General in the American army, I must give you some degree of instruction. People will say to you: 'They have been beaten,' to which you must reply: 'That I cannot deny, but when you have two armies, equal in number and not entrenched, old soldiers always have the advantage over young recruits; moreover, they have had the pleasure of killing many—yes, many—more of the enemy than they have lost of their own men.' To which the answer will come: 'That is all very well, but Philadelphia, the capital of America, the bastion of liberty, has been taken!' This you counter politely with: 'You are no more than fools. Philadelphia is a dismal town, open on all sides, its harbor already closed to shipping, and rendered famous only because it is (though I do not know why) the seat of Congress.'²⁴

Writing in January 1778 from Valley Forge, the young major general describes the winter headquarters, dissensions among the Americans, and the necessity of his continued aid to the rebellious colonists.

What a date, my dear heart, and what a site to write from in the month of January! In a camp, in the middle of the woods, fifteen hundred leagues from you, I see myself enslaved in the midst of winter. . . . And it is here that the American army will spend the winter in little huts which are scarcely more cheerful than a cell Everything tells me to leave, but honor bids me stay, and really, when you understand in detail the circumstances I am in, which the army is in, as is my friend who commands it, and the whole American cause, you will forgive me, my dear

heart, you will even pardon me, and I dare almost say that you will congratulate me. . . . My presence is necessary at this time. . . . Were I to leave, many Frenchmen, who are useful here, will follow my example. General Washington would be truly distressed should I speak to him of leaving. His confidence in me is so much greater than because of my youth I scarcely dare assert it. In his position one can be surrounded by flatterers and secret enemies; in me he finds a faithful friend. . . . There isn't a day when he doesn't have long conversations with me or write me extensive letters The humiliation of England, the benefit to my own country, the happiness of mankind which has an interest in the fortune of a completely free people, all compel me not to leave at a moment when my departure would do wrong.²⁵

Characteristically, in these letters to his wife every reference to Washington, who was to become in a sense a spiritual father and model for Lafayette, is marked by respect and awed affection.

With the official recognition by France of the colonial government and the resultant French military expeditions to North America, Lafayette was to find himself used as a buffer, negotiator, and emissary between the American and French officers. In a letter from Valley Forge dated 16 June 1778, he comments on the number of his obligations:

The campaign which has begun has not permitted me to leave. In any event, I have always been sure that in serving the cause of humanity and America, I was fighting for the interests of France as well. Another reason, my dear, to stay here for a bit is that the English commissioners have come and I am very glad to be at hand for the negotiations I can't understand why they [the French Government] haven't already sent a Minister Plenipotentiary or someone like that to America. I am very eager to see one, as long as it isn't me, since I'm not strongly tempted to give up a military career to join the diplomatic corps!²⁶

The two lengthy letters written by Lafayette to his father-in-law, the Duc d'Ayen, are a mélange of political and military observations. They emphasize the gravity of the American cause and Lafayette's serious attitude towards his own role.

America waits impatiently for our declaration of support for her, and one day, I hope, France will choose to humiliate haughty England With France's aid we will win the cause which I cherish, because it is just, because it honors mankind, because it benefits my own country, and because my American friends and myself have been so vigorously engaged in it for so long I read, I study, I analyze, I listen, I consider I don't talk very much for fear of saying idiotic things. . . . I don't wish to abuse the confidence that has been placed in me. Such is the mode of conduct that I've followed and will follow as long as I am here.²⁷

Less than a year later, writing from Rhode Island, where the French fleet under d'Estaing had joined in an operation with American ground forces, Lafayette presented a detailed description of the maneuvers to his soldier father-in-law. He notes his pleasure in the active support of French troops and hopes for an eventual invasion of England.

The admiration which I feel for the Admiral [d'Estaing], who commands, and my conviction that he will let no opportunity pass for an effective action give me a constant desire to be involved in these operations with him My greatest happiness would be to chase them [the English] from here and then into England itself.²⁸

Despite his responsibilities in the American campaign, Lafayette retains a respectful tone toward the Duc d'Ayen, as he continues:

I am going to add this dirty scrap of paper, which a Harpagon might use, to my long letter, to tell you that I have become much more prudent as far as expenses go. As I am now living, my household will be cheaper than ever, and I'm really acting very wisely, considering the high cost of everything, especially using paper money. . . . If I was ever misguided in the road I took to come here, forgive my misjudgments at the expense of my good will and certainty of heart.²⁹

Among Lafayette's relatives, his brother-in-law, the Vicomte de Noailles, served in Rochambeau's army during the American Revolution. Writing to him in 1780, Lafayette comments on the execution of Maj. John André. Lafayette had served on the board of the English officer's judges, a duty which he found as distressing as Arnold's escape was enraging. Lafayette, with

Generals Washington and Knox, had breakfasted serenely at the Arnold farmhouse while Arnold himself was fleeing to safety on the British ship *Vulture*.³⁰

What has truly upset me was the necessity of hanging the adjutant general of the English army, a charming man who bore himself well through everything and died like a hero. . . . André was executed yesterday. General Clinton's anger didn't intimidate us, but the death of this man left me sad and regretful, because of his character. I really suffered at his sentencing, but he was an officer in disguise, passing through our lines with intelligence reports for the enemy, and he himself didn't hesitate at spying. The scoundrel who abandoned him will, I hope, also be hanged.³¹

Commenting on the morale of the American troops, he notes:

We must encourage the citizens to campaign again . . . but how can the officers and troops of the army be satisfied, having neither uniforms, nor bread, nor meat, nor rum? Moreover, one does need shoes to march over stones.³²

Evidence of Lafayette's continuing efforts to aid the new American Government are contained in the texts of contemporary copies of six letters addressed to the President of the American Congress, 1782-88. Writing from Nancy in 1783 concerning restrictions on American imports, he states:

There now exist in this kingdom many obstacles to trade which I hope, by little and little, will be eradicated. From the great natural resources of this country over England, it will of course result that the French trade, generally speaking, must prove more beneficial to America. . . . My presence in France may be serviceable . . . I think my present duty is, and it ever shall be my rule, to do that in which I hope to serve the United States.³³

The letters also contain comment on political events in Europe and include the text of a letter written to the Spanish Minister, Floridablanca, concerning the newly established understanding between the United States and the Spanish crown. Lafayette had arrived in Madrid, wearing his American uniform, on the 15th of February 1783, eager to better relations between the two North American powers. Precisely a week later,

he had won a formal commitment from the Spaniards.

Instead of the indifference and even divisions that another nation would wish to foresee, it is my happiness to be able to bring before the United States evidence of your good disposition. . . . The disposition of His Catholic Maj-

esty and the candour of your Excellency will leave no room for false representations. The alliance of the House of Bourbon with the United States is founded on the common interest of both.²⁴

Other material dealing with Lafayette's career in the American Revolution includes notes made

The battle plan for the American forces deployed at Brandywine on September 11, 1777. For Lafayette, commanding the light infantry, it was his first experience on the field.





CONSTITUTION DE LA FRANCE.

M. le Due d'Orleans, et M. le Marquis de la Fayette, soutient M. Necker qui fonde aux pieds les instrumens de l'Esclavage et qui d'une main soutient la couronne de France et de l'autre porte en triomphe le Bonnet de la Liberte'.

on British activities by James Barron, an intelligence agent used by Lafayette during the Virginia campaign, a letter from the Comte de Grasse upon his arrival with the French fleet, and a note from the Maréchal de Ségur, the Minister of War, congratulating Lafayette for his role in the Yorktown campaign. The battle plan for the engagement at Brandywine marks Lafayette's debut on the field, and a letter addressed to the general by a group of officers serving under him begs for "action" in reprisal for the misrepresentations made by the British at Charleston—misrepresentations which they believed had effected the surrender of 6,000 American troops. Amid the manuscripts dealing with the role of French officers and listings of their services and official correspondence is a letter addressed to the American Commander in Chief by Lafayette's seven-year-old daughter:

Dear Washington

I hope that papa will come back soon here. I am very sorry for the loss of him but I am very glad for you self. I wish you a very good health and I am with great respect dear sir your most obedient servant. Anastasie la Fayette.³⁶

Role in the French Revolution, Imprisonment, Exile

Lafayette's triumphant return to France after the American Revolution and his subsequent lionization were extravagant enough to turn the head of a far more experienced man. Barely 32 in 1789, he was to be called upon to maintain order in tumultuous Paris as Commander of the Garde Nationale, while striving to establish institutional guarantees of personal liberty. Many of the general's papers dating from the period 1789-92 were destroyed or confiscated after his departure from France.

Manuscript material from this period includes official documents signed by Lafayette, material concerning his personal finances, and retrospective comment on the events of 1789-92. These last include notes on Thiers' *History of the French Revolution* and other works dealing with the fall of the Bourbon monarchy. From

An anonymous watercolor depicts Lafayette's role as a leader of the "Constitutionalists" in the early days of the French Revolution.

the Provinces Adrienne Lafayette corresponded regularly with Marie-Josèphe Beauchet. Formerly the personal maid of Madame Lafayette, she had left her service to marry Philippe-Nicolas Beauchet, who was to serve as a business manager for the Lafayettes for many years. These letters provide a view of the Revolution from the countryside, with their requests for information concerning the activities of the Government and the political clubs in pivotal Paris. Documents concerning the revolt of Brabant in Belgium in 1789 include the correspondence of Belgian leaders and French residents in Belgium.

By mid-August of 1792 Lafayette, then in command of a portion of the Revolutionary Army, was convinced that he could no longer, in conscience, act as an agent of the Government. He had attacked the increasing power of the political clubs, specifically that of the Jacobins, which he thought were determined to undermine the constitutional character of the Revolution. On August 17 the Executive Council had ordered the transferral of his command to General Dumouriez—an almost certain preliminary to trial and execution. From Rochefort, in a letter issued in concert with the officers who had accompanied him across the border, Lafayette declared himself and his associates as

French citizens . . . not as enemy soldiers . . . and even less as among that segment of their fellow countrymen, to whose interests and principles they were absolutely hostile, who were allying themselves with the nations at war with France, but as strangers who demand free passage.³⁷

Their demand for free passage to neutral territory was denied by the Austrian forces into whose hands they fell. On the 2d of September began the series of transfers which were to culminate in the imprisonment of Austria's most prominent prisoner of war in the fortress of Olmütz.

Lafayette's letter to his aunt at Chavaniac offers his justification for the defection:

I am in good health, my dear aunt, and that is the only consoling news that I can give you. You have known by what combination of misfortunes and proscription the most faithful friend of liberty has been forced to abandon his country, of which the defense was so sweet to him.

CUPIDON , TAMBOUR MAJOR NA

Marche Nationale.

Battez battez tambour national
Conservez du pays natal
La li berte present Royal
Dressons un temple grec memoria
Battre battre tambour
O puissant Dieu d'amour
Francois on ce grand jour
De la france chantons lugubre
Repondent a l'heureux signal
De notre illustre general
Francois chantons d'un coeur lyra
Du dieu Mars la magnanimes
Francois repelez avec moi
Vive la loi
Vive le Roi
Vive la france

Battez battez tambour social ;
Soyez loi d'un mond Congyal
Soient la france au dieu martial
De lauvers Courroux leurs blets,
Francois unifort nous,
Et d'accord Chantons tous
Est il un mond plus doux
Voici la plus belle des fete
C'est pour nous un devoir legal
De chuchier le jour asphal
D'un dieu pour nous si liberal
Pour nous quelle heureux alliance
Francois repelez avec moi
Vive la loi
Vive le Roi
Vive la france .

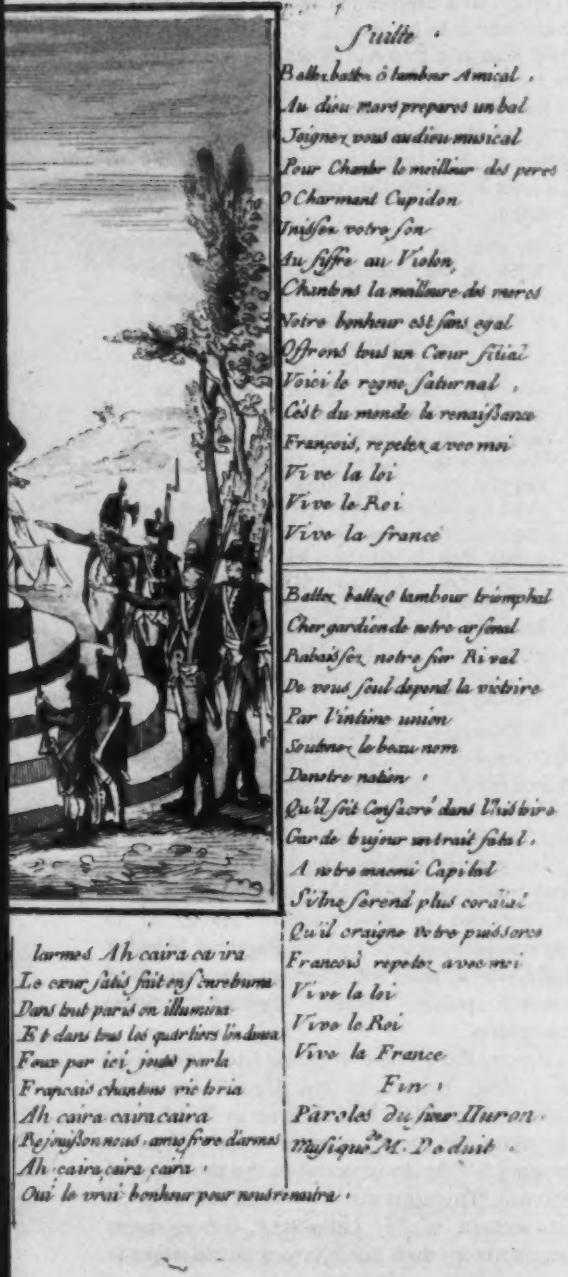
A Paris Chez Driencourt.
Imprimeur en Telle douce rue
du foin S. Jacques N° 6 .



Air caira caira .	Gaite des Bons
Ah caira caira caira	Lemochant plus qu'au abysme
Requis'ont nous, amis frere darmes	Il faudraire quand il'y voudra
Ah caira caira, caira .	Poliment comme on le bordera
ou le vrai bonheur pour nous remettra	S'il grince les dents docela
	En le raillant on ha dira .
	Ah caira
	En vain le ciel embroue comme
	Souvenus nous d'autre fois la
	Air caira
	Barfond les craintes les allarmes
	Que le libor le pour nous a de
	charme Ah caira caira

	Francois .
	Qui hurez fermez le coeur plus
	quand la fayolle, le proclama
	Louis sur son trone l'admir
	Lanubia l'environna
	Dans son sein il le repele
	Ah caira caira
	Le patriote en un etat
	Cha que cikyon bien on augu
	Ah caira caira
	De plaisir chacun versais .

TIONAL



In the past six months I have seen the terrible progress of anarchy. Adherence to our constitution has seemed to me the best means of [preserving] public welfare. I put to the test, with the Assembly, with the King, with decent citizens, everything (without side-stepping the Constitution) that could unite and strengthen us. My efforts were failures. My name has been proscribed; political factions on one side, the court circle on the other, have lost the republic. It finally came to a question of dying uselessly, of abasing myself under the Jacobin yoke, or absenting myself from the damned plots which have been hatched around me . . . I am extremely depressed, I assure you, but my conscience is clear and serene.²⁷

On the same day, Lafayette addressed a more detailed account of his future plans to the Duc de La Rochefoucauld.

If I am freed, I will go to a village in England, because I cannot tear myself from the interest that my country inspires. But should the situation of despotism and aristocracy on one side and on the other political faction and even anarchy make me despair of ever seeing her free, I would become *only* an American again, and finding in that happy land an enlightened people, friendly to liberty, law-abiding, aware that I had been useful in [achieving] that happiness, I would tell my great friend Washington and all my other comrades of that Revolution how that of France, despite me, had been soiled with crimes, racked with intrigues, and destroyed by ignorance and corruption.²⁸

Despite the restrictions of his imprisonment, which were arbitrary and harsh, Lafayette managed to carry on correspondence with friends in England, as well as with representatives of the American Government. The Princesse d'Hénin, an exile in England, was a favored correspondent. She was active in publicizing Lafayette's plight among British circles and was also a means of keeping in contact with other French émigrés. The collection includes 20 individual letters written by Lafayette to the princesse, as well as

A satirical engraving depicts the festival of the federation, July 14, 1790, when Louis XVI vowed to uphold the Constitution. Lafayette and the King share the altar with St. Michel and a cupid drummer of the Garde Nationale. This engraving, with its border of revolutionary songs, is one of the many broadsides and caricatures originally part of the Blancheteau Collection.

letters addressed to Thomas Pinckney and notebooks of contemporary copies of letters written to other friends and sympathizers. Many of these letters date from the period in which Lafayette had no effective contact with his immediate family; correspondence with them was forbidden, and he was even denied word-of-mouth reports concerning their safety. His three years of solitary confinement were made tolerable only by his tenuous communication with exiled friends and American functionaries.

Writing to the princesse barely a month after his seizure by the Austrians, he is wryly able to note:

There is nothing so dull as a letter from prison . . . I can't bring myself to tell you how insupportable it is to be for every second of the twenty-four hours of the day, stared at fixedly by an under-officer, who doesn't speak ones language, and who follows his orders with Prussian exactitude . . . I don't write to my friends, as a letter might be compromising, nor to Madame Lafayette. . . . Write all news to Wesel, where I would say, like the bird in *Voyage Sentimental*, "I can't get out."⁴³

From Wesel, Lafayette was transferred to the prison at Magdebourg, where conditions for the captives were very harsh.

You should also hear a few details on our captivity in this citadel. They have taken every precaution to cut off all communication between us and the outside world . . . I've had trouble with my chest and my nerves, fever and insomnia. My companions (Bureaux de Pusy and Latour-Maubourg) suffer as well . . . I do have books from which the blank pages have been removed, but no news, newspapers, or any communications, nor ink, pens, paper, pencils. It's only by a miracle that I have this sheet, and I'm writing to you with a toothpick.⁴⁴

Though his friends might agitate for his release, citing the very real injustice of his imprisonment, Lafayette hoped for official aid from the American Government, thinking that his American citizenship and rank in the American Army would secure for him effective action. Though President Washington appealed to the Austrian Emperor, and Gouverneur Morris pursued Lafayette's interests both by pressuring the Prussian King and by lending Madame Lafayette

money, it was, as Morris noted in a letter to William Short, the American Ambassador at The Hague, "as a Frenchman that he [Lafayette] is taken and is to be treated. The enemy may consider him as a prisoner of war, as a deserter, or as a spy."⁴⁵

Lafayette's disappointment, despite his gratitude for the favors received through American influence, is evident in a letter addressed to Thomas Pinckney, the American Ambassador at London.

My dear Sir

Whilst on this anniversary, my American fellow citizens are toasting their joy I join in a solitary bumper with the happy remembrances, the patriotic wishes which are crowding upon us. Encircled as I am with ditches, ramparts, guards, double centinels and palisades, shut up in a quadruple gated, barred, chained, locked, grated, narrow, moisty, subterraneous dungeon and doomed to the moral and bodily hardships which vengeful tyranny is heaping on me, let it be today my frolic so far to cheat the crowned gang and their vile agents as to be enabled first to scribble then to convey, this hommage of a sympathizing heart . . . Owing to your kind interference, my dear Sir, the crowned gaolers have consented after eight months silence, to let me know that my wife and children were alive—be pleased to acquaint them that my health is tolerably good.⁴⁶

In December of 1793, in a letter addressed to his former aide-de-camp, LaColombe, Lafayette discusses the possible means of his release: "There remain, for my friends, for my release, but three means: escape, special pleas, and a public outcry."⁴⁷ Dismissing the chances for any easy escape and doubtful of the pragmatic value of petitions to governments "insensitive to notions [like] justice and the Rights of Man,"⁴⁸ Lafayette appears intrigued by the concept of rousing public opinion through political pamphlets.

Among the documents dating from this period is a draft drawn on the United States by Lafayette for 6,000 French livres as "it becomes necessary for me to procure a sum of secret monney."⁴⁹ As documented in the statement of account "Payments made by Mr. Pinckney . . . on account of M. Lafayette," disbursements totaling more than \$28,000 were made either to

Whereas in my Attempts to emerge from Captivity, it becomes
 Necessary for me to draw a sum of Secret Money of France
 Take the liberty to draw on the Account of the United States
 of America, a Bill to the Amount of six thousand French
 Livres, to be paid in London by the French Plenipotentiary
 Minister from the United States, (the like sum being drawn on
 me there at the Hague) the said Bill to have as a Security
 for the Money which has been generally lent to me — Given
 Under my Hand at Magdebourg July the 19th 1793 — *Lafayette*

From his cell at Magdebourg, Lafayette composed this draft for "secret monney," drawn on the account of the United States.

Lafayette or at his behest in the years 1794-97. Among the beneficiaries is Erich Bollmann, the engineer of Lafayette's ill-fated escape attempt from Olmütz.

The dramatic reunion with his wife and daughters in October 1795 gave additional impetus to Lafayette's efforts to secure freedom. As noted, Adrienne Lafayette was as active a correspondent as her husband in this regard. In the United

States, the House of Representatives made a formal inquiry into the situation of George Washington Lafayette.

Information having been given to this House, that a son of General La Fayette is now within the United States. Resolved, that a Committee be appointed to enquire into the truth of the said information, and report thereon; and what measures it would be proper to take, if the same be true, to evince the greatful sense entertained by this country for the services of his father."

George Washington Lafayette responded to

the committee's inquiry with a letter stressing his father's situation, rather than his own.

Sir

I have just received the honourable resolution which the merits of my father have procured for me. . . . Every day recalls to me what he taught me, at every period of his life, so full of vicissitude, and what he has repeated in a letter written from the depth of his prison. "I am convinced (he says) that the goodness of the United States and the tenderness of my paternal friend (Washington) will need nothing to excite them." . . . I am as happy as a continual quietude relative to the object of my first affections will permit.⁴⁷

The eventual release of the prisoners of Olmütz devolved upon the French Directory, particularly upon Napoleon Bonaparte, who had little enthusiasm for the return to France of the potential leader of a constitutional party. Despite Lafayette's assurance of his loyalty to republican France, and the official terms of the release, as stated in the Treaty of Campo Formio, Lafayette's name was retained on the list of proscribed *émigrés*, and the properties in Brittany, all that remained of his large inheritance, were sold. Nothing, however, could restrain the exuberance of the Lafayettes in a joint letter to Madame de Chavaniac.

We are free, my dear Aunt, you've doubtless heard it from other sources, but today we ourselves tell you, and being able to tell you is one of the greatest pleasures of freedom. Your nephew's health has improved noticeably since the day he left Olmütz, the girls are well, and I am markedly better since we stopped traveling. The trip from Olmütz to Hamburg was very fatiguing for me.⁴⁸

During his exile in Germany, Holstein, and the Netherlands, Lafayette occupied himself with preparing material for eventual publication of his memoirs and in compiling notes on the events of the French Revolution. However unsatisfactory his position, it did allow the establishment of an ordered household, and from this period the files of correspondence and other manuscripts are particularly ample. With the publication of portions of his correspondence in mind, Lafayette had begun to copy his letters and, in some instances, had requested their return from their recipients.

Adrienne Lafayette's name had never been officially entered on the list of *émigrés*. Holding the passport with which she had left France in 1795 for Olmütz, she was able to travel freely. During these years, 1797-99, despite her poor health, she spent months in France attempting to recover a portion of her own inheritance and to win official sanction for her husband's return to France. More than 60 letters from Lafayette to his wife date from this period; they are full of local observations, financial advice, and details of family life. There are letters to his children, as well as to friends in France and America.

As noted by Madame Lafayette, imprisonment had not affected Lafayette's political views; indeed, isolation and exile had, to a degree, ossified his beliefs and had certainly distorted his perceptions of French political realities.

Writing to DuPont de Nemours in 1798, Lafayette mentions his "unswerving determination for retirement" but also states that despite his "repugnance for running after politics," service for France and the United States and for liberty is "to his liking, as well as, a duty."⁴⁹ Little more than 40, Lafayette had no reason to consider his public career at an end, though he noted in the same letter that at the moment any active public role for himself as a mediator between France and America was "a question of reality and not of a novel."⁵⁰ Always at pains to justify his own actions and to assert the purity of his motives, human enough traits, Lafayette, in a letter of introduction for Bureaux de Pusy addressed to Thomas Jefferson, comments on his role during the Revolution and his present exile:

After I had vainly made every constitutional exertion to save the representatives of the people . . . after it had become necessary either to be faithless to national sovereignty and my civil oath, or to retire to a neutral foreign ground, [I] took him [Bureaux de Pusy] out with me. . . . Bureaux Pusy will be able to give you a minute account of European politics—that the actual measures within the republic of France . . . are not consistent with my principles is sufficiently demonstrated by my absence. . . . The new elections in France are generally good—may they again popularize liberty, and establish it on a truly republican basis, that of philanthropy, justice, and legal, moral order.⁵¹

In a similar letter of the same date addressed

to John Adams, Lafayette notes that he and his wife intend to visit the United States.

You know sir, that our American voyage was for the first year, on account of my wife's health, utterly impossible. She afterwards went to France, on pecuniary concerns, not my own, what remained of my having long ago been confiscated, but respecting her much reduced part of her mother's property, the only security to our creditors. But I hope that before the equinoctial gale I may be safely and most happily lodged in an American harbour.⁵²

Restoration Period, at La Grange

Lafayette's return to France in 1799 marked the beginning of a period of tranquillity, though the unswerving hostility felt by the general for Bonaparte's despotic institutions often added an element of tension to the peaceful tenor of life at La Grange. Still a symbol of constitutional republicanism, Lafayette was courted by Napoleon with offers of Senate seats and even the ambassadorship to the United States.

The manuscript material dating from the period 1800 to 1815 includes family correspondence and a file of letters written to Lafayette's clever and devoted business agent in Paris, Philippe Beauchet.

With the Restoration Lafayette emerged from retirement, seeking election as a liberal deputy. Correspondence during this time includes letters from Bonapartist exiles in the United States, as well as from the general's numerous international correspondents.

La Grange was a favorite gathering place for political associates, as well as for visitors from the United States, and was described in the travel books of the time by such writers as James Fenimore Cooper and Lady Morgan. A particularly detailed description of the grounds and interior of the chateau is found in Jules Cloquet's *Recollections of the Private Life of General Lafayette*.⁵³

To picture Lafayette as an aging hero musing among the souvenirs of the past is deceptive; his devotion to libertarian principles was adamant, as illustrated in his reactions to political crises in 1802 and 1823.

Writing to Napoleon from La Grange, Lafayette explains why he had voted against the life

consulship; citing the characteristics of leadership and honor that Napoleon had hitherto displayed, he asked for "the restoration of liberty."

The French people have too well known their rights to have forgotten them. . . . By the strength of your character and public confidence, by the superiority of your gifts . . . you can reestablish liberty while overcoming all threats and reassuring every uncertainty.⁵⁴

The candor which Lafayette displayed in addressing Napoleon is also evident in his reactions to the crisis of the "affaire Manuel." In 1823 the debate in the Chamber of Deputies concerning the funding of a French expedition to be sent to Spain to reinstate Ferdinand VII inspired lively and partisan oratory. A speech by deputy Manuel—a friend of Lafayette, a member of the Carbonari, and a prominent left-wing orator—had provoked cries for his expulsion from the right. On February 27 he was officially excluded from the remainder of the session. His expulsion set off a demonstration within the Chamber which culminated in the refusal of the other liberal deputies to take their seats. Lafayette, from La Grange, addressed a letter *Aux Électeurs du Collège Élector de Meaux* defending Manuel and enlarging this defense to include a critique of governmental restrictions, contrasting French practice with that of the United States. Ironically enough, Lafayette was defeated in the next election, and his loss at the polls freed him to make a triumphal tour of the nation whose institutions he had lauded.

In the United States the sovereignty of the people, reacquired by a glorious and spotless Revolution, universally acknowledged, guaranteed not only by a constitution . . . but by legal procedures which are always within the scope of the public will. It is also exercised by free, general, and frequent elections . . . Ten million people, without a monarchy, without a court, without an aristocracy, without trade-guilds, without unnecessary or unpopular taxes, without a state police, a constabulary, or any disorder, have acquired the highest degree of freedom, security, prosperity, and happiness, which human civilization could have imagined . . . In France, on the contrary, there are no longer municipal or administrative elections nor any other popular elections, no freedom of the press, no jury . . . nor any representation of



Monsieur

Permettez qu'au commencement de cette nouvelle année, 1831
la première de la Liberté et des franchises Constitutionnelles,
sous le Roi-Citoyen, qui fait aujourd'hui le bonheur des Français,
je vous adresse les vœux sincères que je forme pour votre prospérité.

C'est dans ces sentiments que j'ai l'honneur d'être
Monsieur

Avec un profond respect et un entier dévouement,
votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur.

Tambour de la Compagnie.

the heart of the people. The guarantees of '89 and '91 which had been reinstated so easily and promptly exist no more; the government which recognizes in its charter national right has mistaken the most fundamental of rights; strengthened by the arbitrary traditions of its predecessors.⁶⁵

This text represents, to a degree, the great disappointment of Lafayette's European career—his failure to play an effective role in establishing institutional guarantees for the "rights of man" he had propounded in 1789. In 1830 he misplaced his trust in Louis-Philippe, who, after mouthing the traditional egalitarian clichés, was to oust Lafayette from the command of the Garde Nationale and solidify the monarchial rather than constitutional character of his regime.

The manuscript material concerned with the Revolution of 1830 includes letters exchanged between Lafayette and Louis-Philippe, as well as material dealing with the re-establishment of the Garde Nationale. Of the hundreds of letters addressed to the general during these years, many contain commentary on the events of 1830.

Lafayette's death in 1834 generated a tremendous public response; hundreds of letters from both sides of the Atlantic were received by the Lafayette family. Approximately 300 are contained in the collection at Cornell. Following his death, the Lafayette children began compiling material relating to their father to aid them in preparing the *Mémoires* for publication. The file of documents, transcriptions, and correspondence provides practical insights into these preparations.

Mémoires Material

Among the manuscripts in Lafayette's hand or written at his dictation are papers concerning his personal life, texts of speeches, commentary on public events, and material which was compiled for ultimate inclusion in the published version of his *Mémoires*, as well as financial statements and items too diverse to be defined categorically.

A lettre de complement for the year 1831 bears Lafayette's portrait, uniformed as the commander of the Garde Nationale. The vignette depicts Lafayette's acclamation by the rebels of 1830.

One of the most intriguing manuscripts in the general's hand is a version of the introductory material of his *Mémoires*. The entire text, trimmed and modified for publication, numbers 29 leaves of holograph and concerns Lafayette's activities during the American Revolution, concluding with an account of his diplomatic mission to Spain in early 1783. One paragraph, describing his amours, has been scotched in pencil (most probably by George Washington Lafayette) and it is not included in the published text:

I will spare you, too, a confession concerning a scarcely edifying youth, and even the story of two passions for famous beauties . . . the first scarcely an outline, broken upon the obstacles of jealousy which I confronted. [In] the other, I at first seemed to triumph, less over the object herself than over a rival . . . and this [affair] finally ended by a strange calamity for me. It will be more pleasant to speak of the tender and steadfast attachment . . . to the woman I had the happiness to wed.⁶⁶

The entire manuscript bears liberal corrections and emendations, both in the hand of Lafayette and in that of his son.

Included with the drafts of public statements and speeches are notes regarding the Belgian revolution. Of American interest is the draft of a Fourth of July speech, apparently delivered at a dinner, which concludes with a toast to national sovereignty, as well as a portion of Lafayette's graceful response to the official welcome he received in Lancaster, Pa., on his tour of the United States. This manuscript is a tribute to both the general's politeness and his sense of the politic, with local references sprinkled among the requisite grand phrases.

Documentary material includes a passport from the 1820's, legal papers and receipts, and a significant ledger of income and expenses at La Grange from 1800 through 1804, drawn up by

On the following pages:

The passport issued to Lafayette in 1822 as a member of the Chamber of Deputies.

The first manuscript leaf, in Lafayette's hand, of the draft which was to be the basis for the introductory remarks in volume I of the general's Mémoires. The last two lines begin the paragraph that was not included in the published version.

DÉPARTEMENT
de la Côte-d'Ivoire

SOUS-PRÉFECTURE

COMMUNIQUE
de l'Assemblée

Valable pour un an.

PASSE-PORT.

Registre
n° 124

SIGNALMENT

Agt de Clark
 taille d'au moins 10 cm.
 long couvert de scutules,
 énorme abdome
 très dégagé
 scutules très grandes
 yeux blancs
 nez fort
 bouche normale
 barbe abondante
 menton rond
 visage pâle
 tétine rousse

SIGNES PARTICULIERS

Structure du Projet

Lepysia



DE PAR LE ROI.



Nous résidons à la Chambre des Députés des Départements

Invitons les autorités Civiles et Militaires à faire passer ce
brevet circulaire de Paris, — département
de la Seine — à l'Intérieur des départements
du Royaume.

Débord sur *Madame*

Fair à Paris le ¹⁰ Septembre 1802
Le Président et Secrétaire
de la Chambre des Députés

Prix du Petit-pot, Deux francs

Si je confondais, comme il arrive trop souvent, l'entièrement avec la fin de la
longue et de l'ennuyeuse révolution que j'ai longtemps éprouvée, et l'appréhension à leur
égoïsme par celui de 1816, tandis qu'il est plus de moins que l'ouvrage du maréchal
de la troisième personne; mais je ne serai point complaisant à Domi pour le brûler ce
précieux intérêt qui bâtit à ma vie les Nouveaux Ephémérides d'un journal; il me
suffit de penser que le temps bâti à quelques amis n'a jamais plus loint, mon
ouvrage de même deux grands avantages sur l'ouvrage de l'autre personne; cinq que
n'aurait rien à demander avec le public, il ne les pourra prouver ce que la
différence des deux n'a pas d'autre dépit.

Il devrait trop, je crois de me plier d'abord dans un autre Hémisphère,
et trop minuscule de m'appuyer sur les livres de ma bibliothèque que l'envie de posséder la
moitié de mon père à miâge, de mon éducation en europe, au point de parvenir bâti
à bâti, de ma translation à l'âge de vingt ans dans un collège de paris, où je perdus
bientôt ma vocation musicale, et où la moitié de son père me bâtit riche de pouvoirs
que j'aurais de quelques succès dérobés animés par l'amour de la gloire et troublés
par celui de la liberté; enfin de mon mariage à l'âge de seize ans, prends d'un tel jour à
l'Académie de bernicelle, j'ai encore moins à vous apprendre sur mon entrée dans le monde;
la toute jeune dame que je faisais nombrer quelques voyages au légionnaire
de nos mères, et à jugement l'ignorante que maltais mon état, lorsque je fus marié, et n'entendais
que de choses qui me paraissaient mortel d'être dites. le manuscrit offre de l'amour propre
depuis ce qu'un poète honnête n'a pas adouci par la gourmandise de mes
manières, quoi, sans être déplacé dans les grandes circonstances, ne se plaint pas jamais
que grise de la lenteur, ni une aggrandise dans temps de la capitale.

je vous épargne aussi la description d'une journée que j'admirais, et où j'eus
l'histoire de deux romans dédiés à des beaux amis libres, ou ma tête eut plus

Beauchet. This account is of particular importance because it chronicles outlay at a period of great financial trial for the Lafayette family; the situation was summarized in George Morgan's *The True Lafayette* as follows:

[The Directory] revenged themselves on Lafayette by selling a large part of his property in Bretagne. His Auvergne possessions were gone by an earlier confiscation, except the Chavaniac house and a few acres around it. He also still owned the undeveloped South American estate in which he had invested in his plans for the betterment of the blacks. All things considered—debts, depreciations, sequestrations,—he was a ruined man. And this, too, despite his wife's money and management.¹⁷

Beauchet's *compte rendu* contains a statement of income (totaling more than 350,000 francs for this four-year period) and itemized tables of expenses, personal and household. The account documents the outlays made in restoring the houses at Chavaniac and La Grange, particularly the latter, which was the main object of Lafayette's attempt at reestablishing a measure of solvency. Specific payments are noted to the architect Vaudoyer and his workmen and to the suppliers of household furniture and accessories. There are partial repayments of long-standing debts and records connected with the sale of the property in Cayenne. The document even includes the proverbial "laundry list" of a great man; *blanchissage* is among the household expenses noted. More than 7,000 francs were expended in the treatment of Lafayette's fractured leg in 1803; other medical costs included special *bains de santé* for Madame Lafayette, who suffered from the ailments she had developed during her imprisonment. More cheerful disbursements include almost 10,000 francs for wine and payments for items connected with the marriage of Virginie Lafayette to the Marquis de Lasteyrie in April 1803. A remarkable supplement lists the most minuscule payments—for a dozen handkerchiefs, the forgotten regilding of a picture frame, tips, coach fares, and postage. The final tabulation shows a balance of a bit more than 1,000 francs, a tribute to careful management. The account is signed by both Beauchet and Lafayette.

During this period the United States Government granted a tract of land to Lafayette of more

The compte rendu for the years 1800-04 prepared for Lafayette by his manager, Beauchet. This sample leaf of the detailed account of expenditures includes payments made for household furnishings, wine, and medical care.

than 11,000 acres. Originally located in the region of the Ohio and Kentucky Rivers, the property was transferred to the newly acquired Louisiana territory, as described in the correspondence between Lafayette and Thomas Jefferson. Though designed as an acknowledgment of Lafayette's services during the American Revolution, the land was to prove a financial headache rather than a blessing and involved the Lafayette family in litigation for almost half a century. The dossiers connected with the Louisiana grant contain more than 200 individual pieces of correspondence and documents. The material includes descriptions of the Louisiana Territory, legal papers dealing with the claims of the settlers long established on the land, and the lawsuits involving the Coghill, Parish, and Seymour families, to whom Lafayette had deeded portions of this grant.

Of related interest is the grant of land in Florida, made during the general's tour of 1824-25. The manuscript material constitutes a complete study of "Lafayette Township" and includes maps, deeds, charts, and notes on the land made by George Washington Lafayette. Plans for development complement extensive files of correspondence from Lafayette's agent in Florida and drafts and copies of letters addressed to their U.S. representatives by Lafayette and son.

The hundreds of items dealing with these land grants to Lafayette are of great historical interest in their own right, providing as they do insight into contemporary legal process as well as the development of unsettled portions of the United States in the early 19th century.

Grand Tour of the United States

Lafayette's grand tour of the United States in 1824-25 was a personal triumph, and his very visibility inspired thousands of letters from every segment of American society. In the collection are more than 1,200 letters, the vast majority written during and following his final

			Mont à tirer.....	13261 5 11.
X 20	Salaires	322	Cartier et de la 182 à 5. quinze temps ou deux de moins	195 14
			Prix de la main d'œuvre par la fraction	
XI 28	agricult.	323	jeune et moyen charpentier 565 le m ²	565 10
19	10. char.	324	et de... Bois de la 182	222
20	6. char.	325	et de... Bois de la 182 le m ²	103 10
21	16. char.	326	et de... Bois de la 182 le m ²	219 0
22	10. char.	327	et de... Bois de la 182 le m ²	900
23	10. char.	328	et de... Bois de la 182 le m ²	121 0
			Prix de la main d'œuvre par la fraction	
XI 14	Char.	329	Prix de la main d'œuvre par la fraction	139 6
19	3. char.	330	jeune et moyen charpentier 110	110
20	3. char.	331	et de... Bois de la 182	17 6
21	8. char.	332	et de... Bois de la 182 le m ²	20 0 6
			Table des 15 et 16. main d'œuvre par la fraction	
X 3	Salal	333	jeune et moyen charpentier 696 le m ²	696 5
19	10. Salal	334	et de... Bois de la 182	299
XI 1	char.	335	jeune et moyen charpentier 550 le m ²	550
2	10. charal	336	et de... Bois de la 182 le m ²	167 4 5
X 20	charal	337	jeune et moyen charpentier 120 le m ²	120
X 9	char.	338	et de... Bois de la 182 le m ²	84 5
XI 2	charal	339	jeune et moyen charpentier 115 le m ²	115
21	10. charal	340	jeune et moyen charpentier 90 le m ²	90
22	10. charal	341	et de... Bois de la 182 le m ²	26 0 5
23	10. charal	342	et de... Bois de la 182 le m ²	26 0 5
			Prix de la main d'œuvre par la fraction	
VIII 10	charal	343	jeune et moyen charpentier 61 6 le m ²	61 6
IX 15	chara	344	et de... Bois de la 182 le m ²	29 0
X 1	charal	345	jeune et moyen charpentier 19 0 le m ²	19 0
XI 14	charal	346	et de... Bois de la 182 le m ²	19 0
			Prix de la main d'œuvre par la fraction	
			Dîne chez M ^{me} Bilger	
		351	main d'œuvre par la main d'œuvre 5 10	
		352	main d'œuvre par la main d'œuvre 245 10	245 10
		353	main d'œuvre par la main d'œuvre 119 0	
		354	main d'œuvre par la main d'œuvre 118 0	118 0
		355	main d'œuvre par la main d'œuvre 104 0	
		356	main d'œuvre par la main d'œuvre 110 0	110 0
		357	main d'œuvre par la main d'œuvre 115 0	
IX 10	Commissaire	358	jeune et moyen charpentier 180 le m ²	180
		359	et de... Bois de la 182 le m ²	180
			Mont à tirer.....	13261 10 11.



Address

Of the young Ladies of the Lex. Female Academy,

TO GEN. LAFAYETTE.

Illustrious Sir, *

We, a Committee in behalf of the Pupils of the

LEXINGTON FEMALE ACADEMY,

gratefully acknowledge the honour done us by your visit to this our institution. It is an honour we have dared to wish for, yet heartily desired to expect, and one too, of which we shall ever be proud. We regard this day, as the happiest of our existence. We beheld the "Nation's Guest" our country's friend; we see Lafayette and never shall time efface from our memory the recollection of this day. We never shall, we never can forget it. If the reception given you here is not so splendid, as when you have met elsewhere, think not, noble Warrior, think not, it is less sincere. If our feeble pens, or our timid accents, permit us not to express our sentiments in that style of eloquence, with all those

The elaborately calligraphed manuscript of the address delivered by students of the Lexington Female Academy on the occasion of the general's visit during his American tour, 1824-26.

visit to the United States. Many of them were doubtless among "the bright and touching souvenirs" ⁵⁸ cited by George Washington Lafayette as the source of so much pleasure in his father's last years.

The letters deal with a wide variety of topics. Among the most frequently recurring are testimonies and addresses from societies of all sorts, the reminiscences of veterans of the Revolutionary War, letters of introduction and of thanks, congratulatory notes, letters accompanying gifts, ranging from books and pamphlets to agricultural products and inventions, and letters requesting employment or money from literally dozens of strangers well aware of the general's reputation for benevolence.

The following letter, signed Wilson Smith, has a blunt and urgent tone compared to the tortured gentility which characterizes so many of these pleas. To the modern reader they are all a source of rueful amusement.

Dear Sir,

Having been so unfortunate as to lose the use of one of my legs by a fall I lately received, I have thought proper to beg a favour of you, and that is to make me the present of a small sum of money. Knowing your generosity to the unfortunate has made me bold enough to ask this of you. My doctor threatens to send me to jail unless I pay him this week, and however trifling the sum might be, it would be thankfully received by an old soldier. You might consider me as an imposter, but if I was able to walk to you, I would convince you to the contrary.⁵⁹

S. M. Rogers of Baltimore invokes an image of the last judgment to assure a favorable response from Lafayette, writing:

Ah, my revered and beloved friend, you that have been the *Benefactor* of all Mankind, will you refuse to wipe the tear from the Orphan's eye? Will you hesitate to bestow the mite on a Widow's Child? Nay, nay, think me not an imposter!—no, so help me God! And as you deal with me, so may that Heaven to which we are all hastening, deal with you on that last & awful Day!

This apocalyptic tone is softened by a gentle postscript:

My heart whispers you will not deny me.⁶⁰

From New York comes a rather querulous petition:

Dear General

This is the fourth Epistle we have taken the liberty of addressing to the great Apostle of Liberty. . . . While the great and good are passing their time in the most rational and meritorious excursions: poor embarrassed and afflicted Individuals (unknown to the generous and noble hearted Stranger) are languishing on the borders of impending ruin.⁶¹

"Rosewell Saltonstall, Inventor" petitions Lafayette's patronage in publicizing "the Hidden Mistery of Nature's Circular Motion"; ⁶² while more conventional innovators enclosed plans, sketches, and patents for agricultural machinery.

Among the gifts offered to the general was a cane

. . . made from the limb of a tree that now shades the tomb of your illustrious compatriot in arms, General George Washington. . . . Your acceptance of it will afford me the pleasing reflection that my Country contributes to lighten the infirmities of a life, the prime of which was spent in obtaining its choicest blessings.⁶³

Another reference to Lafayette's friendship with Washington (indeed, many of his admirers seem to define Lafayette in terms of his relationship with the Revolutionary leader) was contained in a poem addressed to Lafayette from Philadelphia:

Oh have you now Seen
how America loves you
thou friend of the virtuous and brave
had Washington lived at this time to embrace
you
the cup of your joy would overflow.⁶⁴

This tribute, cryptically signed "O'Brien," is typical of the hundreds of poems and songs dedicated to Lafayette, though its style is restrained compared to many.

Lafayette's views on every issue received wide publicity, and many of his correspondents wrote to ask for very specific aid with philanthropic projects. During his American tour Lafayette was enrolled as a vice president of the American Colonization Society, an honor which is justified

A plea from Emaline Reid "but 15 years of age . . . without friends or money . . ." appears among the hundreds of letters addressed to Lafayette by American admirers and petitioners.

No. 8. Genève August 16 1786

Honored sir . . . Perhaps this letter will surprise you misfortune only would cause me to apply to your generosity & how your kind hand has relieved many you have got all the elegancies and luxuries of life & me but ~~at~~ 15 years of age but I have seen many bad days with out friends or money, you have helped my country but alas it is of little avail to me let not this letter be seen by any or ~~as~~ it will be published every letter that is sent or received by you is in the news paper my friends though cruel would soon use implement . . . answer this as quick as possible

I would devell in your how willing but I dare not mention such a subject

Pardon my presumption ~~my health~~
your humble obt servant Emaline Reid

To General Lafayette

Geneva Ontario county

America

in a letter from Ralph R. Gurley, the organization's president:

The merits of a long and most illustrious life, consecrated to the maintenance of human rights to the happiness of the world, present a claim which has been recognized with pride, to the highest distinction which our institution could confer.⁶⁵

Precisely a month before, Lafayette had received the following appeal from Gurley; perhaps his response had generated the subsequent honor.

A colored woman with four small children in this city, has just been sold, and is about to be separated from her husband, mother, and other friends. My wish is to purchase the family & finally make them free. It is impossible for me, however, to advance the money.⁶⁶

Concerning a related topic, Lafayette was importuned by Loring D. Dewey to use his influence to establish official recognition of the Republic of Haiti, thinking that it

may . . . aid to give liberty to . . . my countrymen now slaves. By having their independence acknowledged by our gov't. this aid might be secured more effectively.⁶⁷

In 1784 Lafayette had visited Fort Schuyler, the site of a treaty conference between the United States and a group of Indian tribes. Lafayette had spoken to the assembled Indians as "Kayewla" "the white warrior." On his return to France he was accompanied by an Oneida boy, Peter Otsiquette, for whom he was to provide an education in Europe. In 1826 he received a letter prompted by Peter Otsiquette's brother:

I am induced to write you this by the importance of an Oneida chief, the brother of the young Indian by name Oqiquetha, who accompanied you on your return to France after the Revolution in this country. The person referred to, Nathaniel, is a man of note in the Oneida nation, who, with many of his nation, removed from the state of New-York two years ago into the North-western Territory, about one thousand miles from old Oneida . . . Many of those Indians who have already removed into the territory, are well educated . . . It is upon Literature, my honoured sir, that I am now writing you in behalf of the aforementioned chief,

who is very desirous to obtain not only for his children, but his friends, a few French books. He calls upon you as a Father of philanthropists, to aid and assist him to enlighten his countrymen by sending him . . . such books as you may think proper . . . it will be perfectly immaterial upon what subject they may treat or in the religious sentiments they may contain, or whether the books be old or new.⁶⁸

Another correspondent wrote to Lafayette concerning the constitution which he had drafted for the Seneca nation.

I present to you an outline of a Constitution for my red brethren, which I believe would save them from total extinction. It was necessary for me to decide on such a one as was practicable among them; and not one that might be objectionable to the ideas of white people generally.⁶⁹

Job Smith, the writer of this letter, included the draft of the proposed Constitution, which presents a view of the Indian nation as a "Commonwealth Theocracy"—"the ne plus ultra of human felicity." Though he rejects completely the Judeo-Christian tradition, Smith nevertheless cites the Bible as an authority for the establishment of this communal society. Smith had asked Lafayette to present the draft to the American President, trusting it would meet with the approval of them both.

The material connected with Lafayette's tour as "Guest of the Nation" also includes itineraries, correspondence between George Washington Lafayette, who accompanied his father and Antoine Levasseur, who published a two-volume account of the trip, *Lafayette en Amérique*. There are also papers dealing with Lafayette's Florida lands.

Correspondence With Prominent Americans

The friendships made by Lafayette during his years in America flourished despite the vicissitudes of war and revolution. Cornell's collection includes more than 200 letters addressed to Lafayette by prominent statesmen, diplomats, and writers. Certain groups of letters are of special significance, notably those of Thomas Jefferson. In the preface to his edition of the Lafayette-Jefferson correspondence, Gilbert Chinard notes: "With all his love for his adoptive country, Lafayette wished to remain, and did remain, essentially French. Temperamentally he had nothing

in common with Jefferson and yet between these two men whose views and reactions on so many subjects were widely divergent, there existed for almost fifty years a sincere and unvarying friendship."⁷⁰

Lafayette's disbursements during the American and French Revolutions, combined with the confiscations which followed his flight from France in 1792, had beggared him. Jefferson was active in obtaining a measure of recompense for Lafayette's services to the United States. In a letter accompanying a copy of the bill granting the Louisiana tract to the general, the American President declared:

I this day write to Governor Claiborne at New Orleans to get the best information in his power for locating them [the grants] on vacant parts, the most fertile & nearest to N. Orleans which can be found . . . I know no reason why they should be estimated lower than the same quantity in a West Indian island, and can it be only a wish that it may induce you to come over and plant your family in a country where every circumstance will give them eminence and prosperity? This may be wished, but can be properly weighed only by yourself, M^{ds} de la Fayette, & your friends. it is not for us to decide between the eminence which rests on the affection of a self governing nation, and that which is raised in other circumstances. You have an acquaintance with both.⁷¹

Doubtless aware of Lafayette's uneasy retirement at La Grange under the Empire, Jefferson, writing again with reference to the Louisiana lands, urges Lafayette to consider the special character of his new American possessions.

Would it be no gratification to you, my friend, to have a family of this kind to whom you could be a father? And to become in fact the father of a new state? for the whole, American as well as French, would immediately look to you as their common link of union. New Orleans is a place of wealth and luxury. The manners are entirely French, and the language spoken. The people are the most quiet and affectionate in the world. leave then, my dear friend, the soil which is trembling under your feet, ready to devour yourself & your family, and come to a country where you can do so much good, and which is rising under the prospects of tranquillity and happiness which scarcely ever beamed on man before.⁷²

Writing to Lafayette from Washington in the

A letter from Jefferson, written to Lafayette in 1808, testifies further to his interest in the general's Louisiana grants, predicting that "they will double in value three times within 10 or 12 years." In the opening paragraph, Jefferson expresses his sympathy on the death of Madame Lafayette, noting "her amiable & excellent character . . . and the void it would make at the house of La Grange."

summer of 1807, Jefferson comments on recent political upheavals in the United States and worsening relations with Great Britain. The letter also contains a response to Lafayette's letter of 19 April 1807 concerning the part played by Erich Bollmann in the conspiracy of Aaron Burr.

His [Bur's] conspiracy has been one of the most flagitious of which history will ever furnish an example. he meant to separate the Western states from us, to add Mexico to Them, place himself at their head, establish what he would deem an energetic government, & thus provide an example & an instrument for the subversion of our freedom. The man who could expect to effect this with American materials must be a fit subject for Bedlam . . . Altho' there is not a man in the U.S. who doubts his guilt, such are the jealous provisions of our laws in favour of the accused against the accuser, that I question if he is convicted . . . I am sorry to tell you that Bollman was Burr's right hand man in all his guilty schemes . . . I gave him a pardon however which covers him from everything but infamy.⁷³

For Jefferson the temporary alliance between the Federalists and his own Democratic Party is but an index to the crucial international situation:

Never since the battle of Lexington have I seen this country in such a state of exasperation as at present. And even that did not produce such unanimity. The federalists themselves coalesce with us as to the object, altho' they will return to their old trade of condemning every step we take . . . 'Reparation for the past and security for the future' is our motto. Whether these will be yielded freely, or will require resort to nonintercourse, or to war, is yet to be seen.⁷⁴

During his residence in Paris as American Ambassador, Jefferson became acquainted with Lafayette's sprightly aunt by marriage, the Comtesse de Tessé. Their friendship was main-

My dear Sir

Washington Apr. 28. 08.

I wrote you last on the 12th. of July, since which I have received your several favors of July 8. Aug. 11. Sep. 10. Dec. 5. & Jan 12. This last has been a sincere affliction to me. my knowledge of the extraordinary worth of our deceased friend, her amiable & excellent character, her value to yourself, her family & friends, and the void it would make at the house of La Grange, sufficiently, apprise me of the immensity, of this loss. but on this subject I will say no more; for experience in the same school has taught me that time & silence are the only medicines.

I will now proceed to your affairs. I mentioned in a former letter that our Colletion had compromised the claims of the city of New Orleans by a line to be run 600. yards from the outer lines of the town. so that what was beyond that became open to your location, & left it clear of dis-pute. I have not yet learned what location of the residue has been made by Mr. Duplantier. This an indirect channel I know that on the 13th of November last he located 10,000. acres, and that on the 15th of March the surveyor had finished surveying 6000. acres of them. where they lie particularly I do not know, but as Mr. Duplantier had the first choice they must be good & well situated. the moment the sur-veys are brought here, I will sign the grants, which in the mean time are as secure as if already signed. I am sorry to learn that your ne-cessities are so pressing as to induce you to propose a sale of them at this time. if I am not deceived in my anticipations of the rise in value of property near N. Orleans, they will double in value three times within 10. or 12. years, that is to say that 12. years hence they will be worth eight times what they now are. how desirable then, my dear friend must it be, for the future welfare of yourself and family, that the necessity of selling could be postponed for that term. The pur-

tained through the mails, however uncertain. Two letters addressed to the Comtesse by Jefferson concern seeds and cuttings which had been dispatched from Monticello. Voltaire's advice to "cultivate one's garden" was a literal command as well as a philosophic injunction to these children of the Enlightenment.

I write you almost in despair that you will get either my letter or the box of seeds; such are the irregularities committed on the Ocean by the armed vessels of the belligerent powers that nothing is safe committed to that element. Were it not for this, I would ask you to send me by some occasion some acorns of the *quercus suber*, some seeds of the *Cedrus Libani* which you have in the Jardin des Plantes, and perhaps some nuts of your chestnut tree.⁷⁶

Four letters addressed to Lafayette by Chief Justice John Marshall contain detailed remarks on slavery and the slave economy of the United States. In 1825, writing to thank Lafayette for a copy of the "Plan for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery in the United States," Marshall discusses the pamphlet in detail and remarks on the efforts of colonization societies and similar philanthropic groups.

Enthusiasm, or other motives, may work wonders in small societies for a limited time, but they will not animate so large a map as must be acted upon to effect the abolition of slavery in the United States.⁷⁷

In a letter dated May 2, 1827, Marshall comments on the text of a speech made by the Duc de Broglie concerning the suppression of the slave trade:

Should France seriously and earnestly engage in the great work of abolishing this flagitious traffic in human flesh, it must be accomplished; and one of the foulest stains on the character of Christendom will exist only in history. In the United States the trade itself is sufficiently execrated; but the disposition to expel slavery from our bosom, or even to diminish the evil if practicable, does not I think gain strength in the south . . . An excessive jealousy of the free states, and an extreme apprehension of the domestic evils which might grow out of any measure having even a remote tendency to effect the object [abolition] stifles any attempt towards it.⁷⁸

James Madison had also represented Lafay-

ette's interests in America; a group of letters dating from 1810 to 1820 are proof of his activities in the general's behalf. In a letter written from Montpelier in 1826, Madison comments on Jefferson's death and the passing of the generation of Revolutionary heroes:

You will never doubt that your happiness is dear to me, and I feel the sentiment growing stronger as the loss of others dear to us both, shortens the list to which we belong. That which we have lately sustained at Monticello is irreparable . . . His family, so long in the lap of the best enjoyments of life, is threatened with the contrast of pinching poverty. The expenses of his enormous household, his extensive hospitalities, and a series of short crops and low markets; to which are to be added old debts contracted in public service abroad, and new ones for which private friendship had made him responsible; all these causes together . . . produced a crisis.⁷⁹

Madison's analysis of Jefferson's financial woes must have sounded all too familiar to Lafayette, so often harassed by comparable problems.

In the same letter Madison comments on political problems, with particular reference to slavery in the United States and the movement for African colonization.

The impression remains, and seems to be indelible—that the two races can not co-exist, both being free and equal. The great sine qua non therefore is some external asylum for the coloured race. In the meantime the taunts to which the misfortune exposes us in Europe are the more to be deplored, as they impair the influence of our political example; tho' they come with an ill grace from the quarter most lavish of them; the quarter which obruded the evil, and which has but lately become a penitent under suspicious appearances.⁸⁰

A contemporary copy of a letter written to Lafayette in 1830 touches upon Lafayette's role in the establishment of Louis-Philippe on the French throne, as well as emerging problems of constitutional interpretation in the United States. As an author of *The Federalist Papers*, Madison's observations are of special interest.

Your friends were aware of your delicate situation to the choice of a substitute for the dethroned government. I believe I may say that with few, if any exceptions, they had more con-

fidence in your patriotic discretion than in their own pretensions to judge on the question For myself, republican that I am, I easily conceive that the constitutional monarchy adopted, may be as necessary for the actual condition of France Our system is occasionally producing questions concerning the boundary between the general and the local governments. A late one, little anticipated, has sprung up in South Carolina, where a right in a single state to annul an act of Congress is maintained with a warmth proportioned to its want of strength.⁸⁰

As noted by Chinard, there was a quality of "tact and a spirit of tolerance" which characterized the correspondence between Lafayette and Jefferson; the same might be said of the Lafayette-Madison letters.

Among other prominent Americans whose correspondence with Lafayette is documented in the collection are Presidents John Adams, John Quincy Adams, James Monroe, and Andrew Jackson. There are also letters from John C. Calhoun, Daniel Webster, and Henry Clay, as well as from representatives of the American Government abroad. Lafayette's interest in education and social issues is confirmed in the correspondence of Jared Sparks, Emma Willard, Frances Wright, and Frances Trollope ("Mrs. Trollope"). The general's ties with Mount Vernon were extended after Washington's death by letters exchanged between the Lafayette and Custis families for a period of almost 50 years.

Correspondence With Prominent Liberals

Lafayette's identification with humanitarian causes had generated correspondence with prominent European liberals and representatives of liberal movements in both Europe and South America. The collection contains 50 letters, in French and Italian, from leaders of the Italian Carbonari; Lafayette was himself an organizer of the French branch of that organization. A lengthy letter from Mazzini, addressed to the editor of a French periodical, is included.

During 1831 and 1832 Lafayette was deeply involved in publicizing the plight of Poland. As president of the Central Polish Committee, he directed the Committee's activities and fund-raising and corresponded with sympathetic organizations in the British Isles and the United

States. Printed material and pamphlets round out the files of letters that accompanied contributions from all parts of France and from friends like Emma Willard, the American educator. With the gift from her pupils in Troy, Miss Willard sent a letter to Lafayette commenting on the neglect of the United States, though "all commiserated with their [the Poles'] situation but all said they would fall and nothing could be done effectively to prevent it."⁸¹

Among the British politicians and theorists with whom Lafayette corresponded was the philosopher Jeremy Bentham. Bentham's letters to Lafayette demonstrate his confidence in the general as a critic and analyst, as well as illustrating their common interest in the establishment of democratic governments and representative institutions everywhere in the world. Among the letters addressed to Lafayette is a letter of introduction to Daniel O'Connell, the Irish patriot. Lafayette had commented on the possibility for upsetting the British by fomenting dissension in England's oldest colony and had been personally acquainted with a number of Irish officers who had sought service in the French Army.

I hope O'Connell by whom I send it [a special issue of a British newspaper] will deliver it to you. With him I have formed a close alliance. He is to use his endeavors in Parliament to place on the carpet my plan for an all embracing regeneration of the law. I thought you might not be disinclined to see a man celebrated and really beneficent; his having educated his three sons under the Jesuits notwithstanding. . . . Paris is familiarly known to him; but it is by the Cote Jesuitique to which, in respect to religion, I believe him sincerely attached; and yet, strange as it may appear, attached at the same time to parliamentary reform, which is republicanism under another name—to law reform, to equality of rights in respect to religion.⁸²

In the same letter Bentham mentions his correspondence with the Tory Duke of Wellington "on terms of mutual amity and civility." With the insouciance that sometimes characterized Lafayette's own attitude toward political opponents, Bentham notes:

I have already told him [Wellington] what I want of him, which is to make him do what

Cromwell tried and was not able to accomplish—deliver the country from the tyranny of the lawyers.⁸⁴

A year earlier Bentham had sought Lafayette's advice and comment on portions of Bentham's Constitutional Code—thinking that Lafayette's experience with military affairs would "preserve [me] from falling into gross and palpable errors, and thus exposing the whole work to contempt."⁸⁵

The manuscript draft of "Jeremy Bentham to the French People" was doubtless submitted to Lafayette for his examination. Gratified by the fall of the Bourbon monarchy in France and the proposed establishment of a charter of liberties, Bentham envisioned the French charter as both a philosophical and practical reality, compared to "that miserable English fiction—the matchless Constitution."⁸⁶ Although Lafayette's role in establishing Louis Philippe on the throne and his acceptance of the command of the Garde Nationale had puzzled and dismayed some of Lafayette's liberal admirers, his actions appear to have guaranteed the new government's legitimacy to Bentham. In this instance Bentham, as well as Lafayette, had been mistaken; the "Citizen King" was to prove to be far from the ideal constitutional monarch. Bentham's obsession with formal codification and his awareness of the ease with which "unwritten" structures could be manipulated are demonstrated throughout the text of this public letter.

Henry Richard Vassall-Fox, Lord Holland, had first met Lafayette in France in 1791. Like Lafayette an aristocrat by birth, he was equally devoted to libertarian causes throughout his long public career. His letters to Lafayette rejoice in any occasion of progressive advancement and discuss the issues of reform in England, France, and the United States.

Writing to the general after the events of August 1830, Holland congratulates Lafayette for his role in a "great & glorious affair":

It was surely fortunate for the peace of France and of Europe that there was a Prince at hand, of the station, character, and experience of the Duke of Orleans & most wisely did your countrymen, especially the republican party, avail themselves of that opportunity. It is the substance not the name of republick that you

& they most properly value. . . . Your resolution & above all your moderation in the hour of victory & the sincere respect shown in all you do for the laws, meets with the unmixed approbation from all classes in this country.⁸⁷

The correspondence file from British admirers includes letters from Robert Owen and Mary Shelley.

Lafayette's correspondents in Latin America included Jean Pierre Boyer, the President of Haiti, and Bernardino Rivadavia, an Argentinian liberal leader. To Simón Bolívar Lafayette sent a portrait of Washington, with assurances of his admiration.

Emancipation of Slaves

As quoted in Bayard Tuckerman's biography of Lafayette, James Madison wrote of Lafayette in 1784:

In his politics, he says his three hobby-horses are the alliance between France and the United States, the union of the latter, and the manumission of slaves.⁸⁸

In 1785, eager to pursue a practical scheme of education and emancipation, Lafayette had

With one hundred thousand francs and the authorization of the Maréchal de Castries, the newly appointed Secretary of the Navy, bought a property in Cayenne and delegated its administration to a man 'full of theory and talent' called Richeprey. As many Negroes as could be were freed, but Richeprey died after six months, killed by fevers. As for the poor blacks, they were re-sold as slaves by the Convention, when Lafayette's colonial possessions were confiscated in 1792. It was the same National Convention, moreover, which issued a decree freeing all blacks in French overseas possessions.⁸⁹

The administration of the plantations was left largely to Madame Lafayette, to whom the project's religious and educational character had great appeal. The documents at Cornell relating to these properties include plans for abolition of slavery and cultivation of colonial products, together with the correspondence of colonists, missionaries, and estate managers with Madame Lafayette.

In a letter dated 24 November 1791, Daniel Lescallier, an official in French Guiana, com-

*Description
d'un Navire Négois.*

— Planes las actions de — Esblancijant —
apresunt, un Bâtiment Négois, et la marine dont
on y entabla la chalane. (A) — Les deux capitaines qu'avoient
une description à laquelle les quatuor citoyens de la commune
me prirent à y tabler, auquel je ayant fait, nous avions celle
du capitaine Brooks, marine comme nous restaurateurs,
qui en l'espousant, deut il a été partie dans la révolte
contre l'Assemblée Constituante à la Chambre des Communes
par le Capitaine Tally. Ce Capitaine avoit été
enlevé à Liverpool de la part de Provinciales,
qui y prentes les dimensions du Bâtiment, employé
à la traite des Nègres, appartenant à ce fonds.
Ce planes ces actions et que dans la préparation
d'un bûcheur de poche, par joli.

(A) Nous rendons compte ici de la manière ordinaire d'entre aux
plans les colons, mais elle varie d'après la force de
marins et la position des différents Capitaines.

The documents connected with Lafayette's estates in Guiana include memorandums concerning the movement for black emancipation. Among the manuscripts is a description of an 18th-century ship used for transporting slaves.

ments on the relations of blacks with the white colonists:

News from the colonies improves on one hand, worsens on the other. There is such discord, exaggeration, and lies, that one understands nothing, if you listen to certain people. They constantly seek to put the blame on the friends of

the blacks [i.e., wealthy philanthropists like the Lafayettes] but the public is beginning to understand that the colonists themselves, these 'little whites' of the colonies, have done the damage . . . in doing what the National Assembly has not done; bending principle to the favour of the white colonists.²⁰

Of special interest are the letters addressed to Lafayette and Madame Lafayette by De Geneste in his capacity as estate manager. Highly detailed, concerned not only with the problems of plantation operations but with the colonial government and the effects of the French Revolution upon the local population as well, this correspondence is especially significant for the student of institutionalized slavery and the important influences of political upheaval in France on overseas territories.

A representative letter addressed to Adrienne Lafayette by De Geneste in December 1790 includes the manager's comments on the progress of housing construction, the hostility of the colonial government to the National Government in Paris, and the discovery and suppression of a slave revolt.

I must tell you, Madame the Marquise, of the generous action of a black man who saved the lives of two settlers, and probably the whole district from complete destruction. Twelve or fifteen blacks had murdered their masters, their plan was to kill all the whites in this area, and to assure this, they decided to send a black child to the houses down by the river, to carry the news to the other slaves. One of their number, who had cooperated only because he feared being killed, stated he thought it too dangerous to entrust the task to a child, who might betray them . . . He left to warn two colonists he had resolved to save . . . The settlers gathered and sought out the conspirators; seven were killed or captured . . . a black woman also saved her mistress's life.²⁰

Ironically, De Geneste notes it was decided to marry the informer to the female slave mentioned, and then the couple was freed. A subscription for them was being collected among the white settlers, and De Geneste declares that a contribution from the Lafayettes would have "an excellent effect."

Documents include a proposal for a model

settlement in French Guiana, which was submitted to the National Assembly, and a manuscript prospectus for *La Société de Grands Cultures Coloniales*. The ambitious plans of this society included the establishment of large-scale plantations for coffee, cacao, indigo, and cotton, as well as a sugar refinery. There are estimates of expected expenditures and profits, and the proposal calls for management from France through local managers. Membership in the society is restricted—individuals who are involved in the practical administration of the projects cannot be shareholders; investors must be motivated by “the same ideals, having mutual confidence in each other and in the directives of the council of administrators.”²¹ The prospectus also recommends the importation of French artisans, preferably orphans, and advocates cooperation with the native Indian population. The establishment of a cattle ranch and the cultivation of spices and indigenous plants of botanical interest are foreseen, in addition to more prosaic agricultural production.

Adrienne Lafayette's Correspondence

The correspondence of Adrienne Lafayette forms a significant complement to the letters of her husband. Completely devoted to him and to her children and forced by circumstance to act for them, Adrienne Lafayette reveals in her letters both tenacity and practical sense—illuminated by the grace of her religious convictions—which were not appreciated by her husband until she had willingly joined him in his prison cell at Olmütz. This extraordinary woman, whose beliefs, according to her witty aunt the Comtesse de Tessé, were composed of “the Catechism and the Rights of Man,”²² concerned herself with charitable and educational projects, becoming, for example, the effective manager of the Lafayette holdings in French Guiana. Her adherence to the philosophical and political principles professed by Lafayette made her a unique amalgam of deep personal piety and genuine tolerance for religious and ideological diversity.

The correspondence of Madame Lafayette includes a file of letters with Madame Beauchet, many of which date from the uncertain period

during the French Revolution before her arrest and imprisonment, and to the managers of family property in France and America. Letters to officials in all branches of the French Government testify to her exhaustive efforts to reestablish Lafayette's status as a French citizen and to reclaim a portion of their confiscated property. Even more revealing of her temperament are the letters addressed to members of the De Noailles family, to Lafayette's aunts at Chavaniac, and to her own children.

Among the earliest letters is a note addressed to Lafayette's aunt in Auvergne by Adrienne not long after her marriage. Charged with ordering a Parisian trousseau for Lafayette's cousin, she is at once affectionate, dutiful, and worried:

We very much hope that it [the trousseau] will be pleasing to her. Everyone says she is charming and I am very eager to see her . . . Please send me as quickly as you can the styles for which I asked you.

Appended to the letter is a “list of what must be sent as models for the trousseau,” which includes stockings, chemises, slippers, and petticoats. In a postscript Madame Lafayette adds:

I am in a great hurry to have all these samples because if I don't have them within a fortnight the dresses which I've bought might not do, which would be very unpleasant, since they have been chosen to be part of a trousseau.²³

Madame Lafayette's relationship to her husband's aunts at Chavaniac, who had raised him, was to deepen, based on their common affection for Lafayette. Writing to “Mademoiselle de Chavaniac” in 1782, she is reassuring concerning the general's departure for Spain to serve on the Franco-Spanish general staff.

I share this new uneasiness with you, as I know you share my sadness at being separated from him, but I can't compare this leave-taking to the previous one which upset me so. The news of peace, or of a swiftly approaching one . . . gives us every reason to think that we've nothing to fear from this expedition. . . . He will come back to us. . . . They even talk about a settlement in a month or six weeks' time.²⁴

For Madame Lafayette the French Revolution was a test of her courage and determination. Seeking retirement in Auvergne after her husband had left France in 1792, she was eventually

arrested and imprisoned, ironically at the Collège du Plessis, where her husband had been educated.

After her release in 1795, intent upon joining Lafayette in the confinement he had endured for three years, she wrote a farewell letter to Mademoiselle de Chavaniac, which has been characterized by her biographer, Maurois, as "affectionate, precise and businesslike."⁹⁵

I have received from the Committee of Public Safety a passport for the United States for me and my daughters . . . this passport will be my means of reuniting myself with him dearest to me.⁹⁶

And in answer to the response she received from Auvergne, she says:

I've received your first letter, my dear aunt, and all the objections you raised have been foreseen . . . I am leaving in a moment for Dunkirk where I will be staying with Mr. Coffyn the Consul of the United States; please do write to me . . . I trust to your prudence on discussing our leavetaking in the neighborhood.⁹⁷

Scarcely two months later, writing to George Washington Lafayette on the eve of her reunion with her husband, she can only partially suppress her excitement.

It's tomorrow, my dear child, that we will be reunited with your father. Imagine if you can how I feel and how much I miss you. I would have written you from his side . . . but I don't want to show the commandant Virginie's affectionate scrawl, so I send out these letters tonight.⁹⁸

She describes her first meeting with her husband in his cell, as well as the rigors and restrictions of their imprisonment, in a letter to Madame Lally-Tolendal in February 1796.

After a long and absolute isolation, during which he was allowed no visitors, you can imagine what it was like for him to see us again, to hear of our common losses, because it was up to me, of course, to lacerate him with this terrible news [victims of the Revolution had included Madame Lafayette's grandmother, mother, and her elder sister]; you can imagine what it was like for the two of us . . .

She continues to describe Lafayette himself, contrasting the effects of incarceration on his

health—extreme—and on his character—imperceptible.

His thinness is shocking, he was sick last winter . . . As for his spirits, he is just as you have known him for the past twenty years. I don't mean only his sympathies and sentiments which you know very well would never alter, but there is no change at all in his character or temperament.

And in an appended note, she declares:

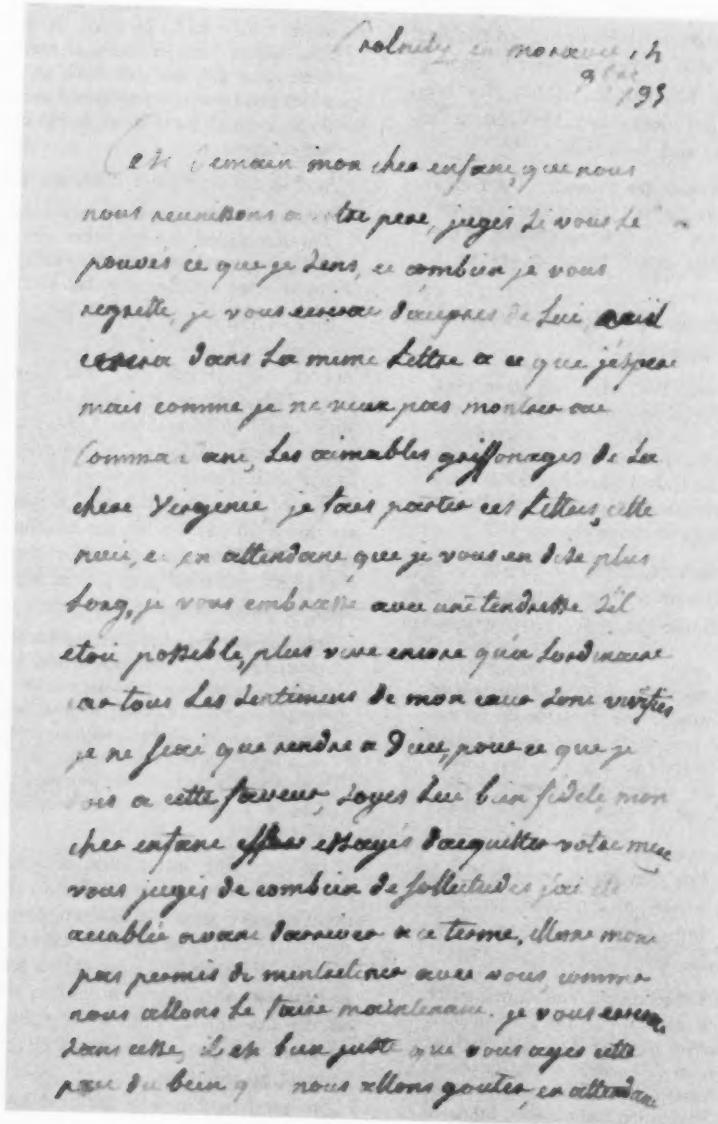
You know that neither the privations to which I'm accustomed nor any other circumstance of this prison can hinder me from delighting in the joy of being reunited with one so dear to me.⁹⁹

From Olmütz Adrienne Lafayette maintained a correspondence, well documented in the collection, with Messrs. Pilet and Masson of Hamburg. These letters deal with the political problems which affected the Lafayettes' imprisonment, financial affairs, and the role of these men as agents in forwarding news of the prisoners to sympathizers in America and England. In a letter dated 16 May 1796, she enumerates specific requests for information while commenting on the effect petitions and public statements may have in publicizing the Lafayettes' predicament.

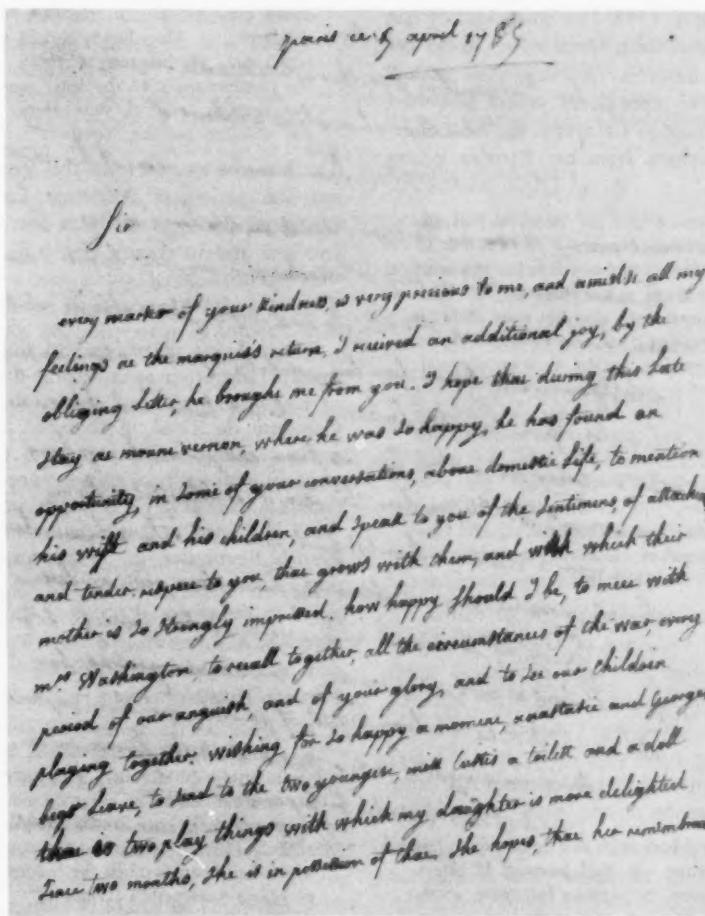
We are certain that the publication of these petitions in all countries should have advantages . . . but we implore you to send us a sample of such, whether printed in French or English . . . At the same time we want you to send news of what is happening in England, not only concerning our own interests, but those of English patriots, and of our common foe, Mr. Pitt.¹⁰⁰

In the same letter, one of more than two dozen addressed either to Masson or to Pilet, she mentions her attempts to change the view of the Austrian court, the appearance of a letter from George Washington Lafayette (a blatant forgery to her perceptive eye), and their desire to hear *all* the news from France. A representative letter from this period, it speaks eloquently of the Lafayettes' isolation.

In her frequent and detailed letters to these active friends, Madame Lafayette expounds, often very frankly, her husband's views. In June 1796 she responded to an inquiry concerning Lafayette's future plans and the question of his return to France.



The letter written to George Washington Lafayette by Adrienne on the eve of her reunion with her husband in his cell at Olmütz.



Adrienne wrote to George Washington in 1785 commenting on her husband's recent visit to Mount Vernon "where he was so happy."

The principles, actions, writings, and speeches of M. de La Fayette both before and since his imprisonment, should be enough, for those who know his character, to imagine his intentions for the future.

While emphasizing the relative unimportance of the *form* under which France might be governed, she states Lafayette's absolute demand for a charter of personal liberties:

But there is a question of the principles contained in the charter of rights, and on this point he, alone of all the world, will not waver. . . . His need is to devote himself to the cause of liberty and the happiness of France—the two principles which he maintained in the Revolution.¹⁰

Perhaps no letters are more revealing of Madame Lafayette's intensely spiritual character than those addressed to her son, whom she had

sent to America in 1795. Her awareness of her children's isolation from their father made her especially scrupulous in directing their ethical education. Of the three dozen letters addressed to George Washington Lafayette, the most characteristic was written from her Parisian prison in 1794.

God has preserved me, my dear boy, in the midst of the greatest dangers. . . . The rest of my unhappy life will be buoyed up in the hope that it may be of use to my children. . . . Our future, and yours especially, my dear child, is impossible to predict. It is only by active virtue, reaffirmed every day, by the exercise of goodness in your own circumstances, that you can begin to fulfill God's plans for you, and for you to master the life He has destined for you. . . . You have already seen too much of man's injustice, his ingratitude, his cowardice. . . . Bind yourself inseparably to Jesus Christ, strengthen yourself by reading His Gospel . . . the bread of the strong, the good news for everyone.¹⁰⁴

Madame Lafayette was aware, of course, of the tremendous influence of George Washington, as both public man and individual, upon her husband. The Arthur H. and Mary Marden Dean Lafayette Collection contains two letters addressed to the American leader in 1783 and 1785. A letter written in 1783 stresses Adrienne Lafayette's awareness of her "dual" citizenship:

[I] offer you my hommage and felicitations, on the glorious peace, obtained by your labors. I have many rights to partake [of] your sentiments on this occasion and every one is very precious to me. It is as a French [and] as an American woman, as the wife of M. de La Fayette that I feel the public joy . . . I entertain the hope to see you both in our country and to go and see you in America . . . the name of George and of Virginie shall be perpetual remembrance of our sentiments for you and your country.¹⁰⁵

In a letter accompanying a gift of carefully chosen French toys for the Custis grandchildren, Madame Lafayette writes of her husband's visit to Mount Vernon.

I hope that during this late stay at Mount Vernon, where he was so happy, he has found an opportunity, in some of his conversations

about domestic life, to mention his wife and children. . . . How happy should I be to meet with Mrs. Washington to recall together all the circumstances of the war, every period of our anguish, and of your glory, and to see our children playing together.¹⁰⁶

The last line quoted from this letter is a poignant summation of Adrienne Lafayette's oft-frustrated desire to establish her family life in freedom and in tranquillity.

Tessé Family Manuscripts

Through his marriage into the De Noailles family, Lafayette was to become deeply attached to his wife's aunt and uncle, the Comte and Comtesse de Tessé. Archetypal figures of the *ancien régime*, freethinkers and polite participants in a marriage of convenience (their golden wedding anniversary was toasted in 1805 "to fifty years of silence"), they nonetheless survived the French Revolution as prosperous *émigrés*, and despite occasional political differences, were devoted to the personal needs of their nephew by marriage and those of his children. During their exile the Tessés moved from Switzerland to Ploen in Holstein, where

one could see the comtesse de Tessé, daughter of a maréchal of France, helped by her niece, the marquise de Montagu, born a d'Ayen, directing the cultivation of a farm, and particularly a dairy of thirty cows, and thus rediscover, in an entirely different situation, the rustic activities which had been so much the fashion at the time of Marie-Antoinette's Trianon.¹⁰⁷

Included in the collection are more than 500 manuscripts which relate to the Tessé family; they date from the early 16th century to the death of the comte and comtesse in 1814. To a student of fashionable life in French court society these papers offer an archive of material dealing with practical estate management and outlay, as well as personal correspondence. Besides dozens of documents dealing with land and properties in the countryside, there are household ledgers, records of expenditures made for charity, inventories, wills, and tradesmen's bills. There is also a file of correspondence dealing with the efforts made by the Tessés to regain a measure of the property which was confiscated

during the Revolution. Of particular interest among the household accounts is a group of ledgers documenting monthly expenditures during the significant year of 1789.

In 1777 the Tessés made an extended tour in Italy. Traveling to Marseille from Paris by coach and riverboat, they sailed to Genoa, visited Sicily, and continued on to Naples, Rome, and Venice. The holograph diary, in the hand of the Comte de Tessé, neatly details this trip, with daily entries of distance covered and laconic commentary on the sites visited. Typically, writing of a well-known Sicilian castle garden adorned with grotesque sculpture, he notes: "It's in such bad taste, it's useless to bother to describe it. It looks like the workshop of an untalented sculptor."¹⁰⁸ This diary is accompanied by a ledger detailing the expenses for the trip. Both manuscripts are invaluable as a description of the progress of a fashionable tour and as a practical accounting of costs.

Among the most notable of the Comtesse de Tessé's correspondents is Madame de Staël, whose friendship with the comtesse dates from the pre-Revolutionary period. Madame de Staël had always been an admirer of Lafayette and, like him, had antagonized Napoleon. The novelist went into exile, and the letters to the comtesse date from the Empire period. These letters mentioned her clandestine visits to Paris and the composition of *Corinne* and include continuing professions of her affection for the comtesse. Among the correspondents of the comtesse represented in the collection are Madame Lafayette, Madame de Chavaniac, the Comte de Stolberg, and George Washington Lafayette.

A curious group of letters exchanged between the Comtesse de Tessé and Madame de Tott (whose relationship to the comtesse appears ambiguous from the correspondence) read like an 18th-century novel in letter format, such as *Les Liaisons Dangereuses*, or perhaps a sketchy scenario for a Constant novella, concerned as they are with Madame de Tott's passion for a Monsieur d'Agout.

The last items in the Tessé archive concern the deaths of the comte and comtesse (who died within a month of each other in 1814), the funeral services, and the final inventory of the

estate, which was willed to George Washington Lafayette. Fittingly, the effects of the comtesse, who had conducted a notable salon, include armchairs which are termed "well-worn" and a library of more than 700 volumes.

Related Archives

The scope of the Lafayette Collection is enormous, both in terms of physical bulk and in the multiplicity of its concerns. More importantly, for the serious researcher it offers discrete and sizable files of manuscript material, as well as showcase items of tremendous individual interest. Accompanying the papers directly connected with General Lafayette are several other archives which should prove of great value to social historians. Among these are a file of legal documents, contracts, and deeds concerning the estates, rents, and litigations of the families from which Lafayette was descended. These documents date from the 13th century and deal with almost every aspect of the financial concerns of the provincial nobility in France. Included with them are wills and inventories, lawyers' briefs, and relevant personal correspondence.

The papers of George Washington Lafayette contain much incidental material concerning the general, as well as material dealing with the Garde Nationale and George Washington Lafayette's political career. Dating primarily from the mid-1820's through 1849, they also detail the preparation of Lafayette's notes and correspondence for their publication in the *Mémoires*, edited by the general's son.

The vignettes and letterheads utilized by tradesmen add special interest to the group of hundreds of bills and receipts dating from the mid-18th to the mid-19th centuries. The bills addressed to Lafayette himself include those of booksellers and binders, tailors (for both uniforms and private dress), house painters, dealers in carriages, and household suppliers, for items ranging from pots and pans to fine china. There are also numerous receipts and acknowledgments from the individuals and charities which benefited from the general's patronage. Among George Washington Lafayette's bills are those for expenses at Chavaniac, as well as for the interior decoration of his Parisian townhouse. An

Mémoire des fournitures de Livres et
des Reliures faites et livrées à M. le Maréchal Lafayette
par M. Louis Reliure, Rue des Mathurins à Paris.
N° 30 à Paris.

1829

Cahiers

30	Fournie, Dist. Hist. naturelle	Coûte et planches	21.
	Environs de Paris	7 in 8° paral. Vean	2.25
	Police判事	2 in 8° paral	1.50
	Bœurisme	1 in 8° paral. Vean	2.25
	Scripting	1	9.
	The rebels	1) 5 in 12 Vean ann	3.
Le droit			
	Livre noir	1	
	Jugement du juge Ministre	7 in 8° paral. Vean ann	1.50
	Chron. de Dubay	3	
	b. L. Cousin	2	
	Opinion, rapports	1	
	Off. de la Cour d'Etat	1) 8 in 8° paral. Vean ann	2.25
	Assembl. Constituante	1	
	Belle partante	1	
	Compt. Bœuf	2	
	Ord. des Bœufs	1	
	Ord. bœufs	1) 2 in 8° in 8° in 8°	3.75
	Accord. of the bœufs		5.50
	Statut de l'âne	1) 2 in 8° in 8° in 8°	6.50
	Chron. of Clinton	1	
	Salon de Paris	2 in 18 Vean	2.25
	Lessell	1	
	Chronique de France	1) 2 in 8° in 8°	4.
	Science-Naturelle 18-19.	5 in 8° paral. Vean	2.25
	Cours de droit français	1 in 8° in 8°	2.25
	Fournie à Blois 33 in 29° Vean ann	1	10.
	of science naturelle 59° Vean ann toutes planches	1	20.
	Chron. de Dubay	1) 2 in 8° paral. Vean	2.25
	Encyclopédie de l'industrie	1) 2 in 8° paral. Vean	4.10
	La Sageterie amér. 2 in 8° Vean ann	5.	10.
6 Janv. 1830	Ord. de droit de 1830	3 in 8° Vean ann	2.50
	Legion Polonaise	2 in 8° Vean ann	2.50
	Bastard, Tracy	6 in 18 Vean ann	2.50
	Hist. du Régne	2 in 8° paral. Vean ann	1.50
			3.
9 Février			
			25375.

Among the tradesmen's bills addressed to Lafayette is that of a Parisian bookdealer. Dated 1829, the invoice includes works in both English and French and books written by Madame de Staél, Destutt de Tracy, and Lafayette himself.

adjunct to the papers of the Comte and Comtesse de Tessé are the bills for their personal and household expenses under the *ancien régime*. Among the duns for prosaic necessities, which include firewood and candles, are those of jewelers, tailors, and dressmakers, and the craftsmen who produced luxurious *objets de vertu*. A listing of expenditures for the comte when he was about to join his regiment includes curling papers and traveling mirrors, as well as other supplies designed to make bivouacking in the 1750's more tolerable for a resident of Versailles. Tessé's official duties as an officer of the Queen's household are documented by listings of administrative disbursements. Included among the bills for tailoring are those of the Duc d'Ayen, Madame Lafayette's father. His costumes were apparently as elaborately detailed as those of his sister, the Comtesse de Tessé, who from the evidence of the bills, assured herself of being à la mode by patronizing the Queen's couturier.

Like Lafayette, Guillaume Tell Poussin identified his interests with both France and the United States. Poussin served as an engineer with the American Army and in 1848 was appointed France's Ambassador to the United States. His papers, included in the collection, number more than 200 letters, documents, and reports dealing with family and political affairs. The manuscripts include commentary on the growth of railroad systems in the United States and in France, Bonapartist exiles in America, and the political upheavals in France in 1848.

The most notable body of printed material which is now part of the collection was drawn from the private holdings of Marcel Blancheteau, the Parisian book and manuscript dealer. The Blancheteau Collection was extensively described in the catalog which accompanied its exhibition in 1934.¹⁰⁷

Every phase of Lafayette's public career is pictorially represented by portraits, caricatures, and political cartoons in every medium. Especially rich in items dating from the revolutionary periods of 1789 and 1830, the collection includes a

few maps, charts, medals, and medallions. There are representative examples of Lafayette memorabilia, among them a fan, purse, and snuffbox, all bearing his portrait. There are also printed versions of the innumerable odes and addresses which were dedicated to him. All of this material forms a lively commentary on the career of a public man and on the fluctuations of popularity.

Other printed material which accompanies the manuscript collection includes biographical and critical studies of Lafayette and his contemporaries and volumes from the library of Chavaniac. This last-named group of books is of special interest, for it includes editions of French and Latin classics, contemporary books of travel, political works, and copies of Lafayette's *Mémoires*.

Even Lafayette's most grudging biographers are willing to admit his effectiveness as a volunteer during the American Revolution and later as a liaison between the United States and France. If this effectiveness was largely the result of the combination of a large personal fortune and influential connections, it was nonetheless productive of practical success. That the philosophic and political notions to which he was exposed during his American experience had uniquely upset the code of a nobleman schooled as a soldier and a gentleman is indisputable. Principle and temperament united, as Marchou notes, to create "an aristo-socialist of an unknown territory on the political map."¹⁰⁸ Whatever the controversy among historians over the entire public career of Lafayette, every aspect of that career is represented in the Arthur H. and Mary Marden Dean Lafayette Collection at Cornell. As importantly, the collection provides an overview of the changing societies in which he lived and documentation of the effects of political philosophy and ideology upon them.

NOTES

¹ A grant of \$35,135 was made to the Cornell University Libraries on October 1, 1971, by the National Historical Publications Commission to enable them to begin locating and listing all known Lafayette manuscripts other than those now at Château La Grange. Dr. Louis Gottschalk, professor emeritus at the University of Chicago and noted Lafayette scholar, is project director.

² The manuscript archive of the Arthur H. and Mary Marden Dean Lafayette Collection is uniquely complemented by three other collections dealing with French history. They are the Maurepas Collection, a manuscript archive of material concerned with the growth and administration of the French Navy in the 18th century; the Charles X Collection; and the French Revolution Collection, the latter composed principally of printed material, periodicals, and pamphlets dealing with every aspect of French society during the Revolutionary period.

³ Michel-Louis-Christoph-Roch Gilbert du Motier, Marquis de Lafayette, to Marie de Chavaniac, Marquise de Lafayette, July 28, 1759. (Unless otherwise noted, the translations are those of the author.)

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Marie Louise Julie de La Rivière, Marquise de Lafayette, to Lafayette (1766?).

⁶ Marquise de Lafayette to Lafayette, Dec. 29, 1766.

⁷ Joseph Yves Thibault Hyacinte, Marquis de La Rivière, to Lafayette, Jan. 30, 1764.

⁸ Louis R. Gottschalk, *Lafayette Comes to America* (Chicago, 1955), p. 18.

⁹ Marquis de La Rivière to Lafayette, Jan. 1 (1768?).

¹⁰ Etienne Charavay, *Le Général Lafayette* (Paris, 1898), p. 531-6.

¹¹ Lafayette, manuscript, *Notes sur ses ascendans . . .* (n.d.).

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ Marquis de La Rivière to Marquise de Lafayette, Jan. 10, 1769.

¹⁴ Kaufrait, document, "États des meubles . . ." 3^e état. 1773.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Comte de La Rivière, to Mlle du Motier, Mar. 19, 1773.

¹⁷ Cf. Gottschalk, p. 24.

¹⁸ Lafayette to Coudine de Lafayette (Feb. 8, 1772).

¹⁹ Cited in Gaston Marchou, *La Fayette, le cavalier de la chimère* (Paris, 1960), p. 120.

²⁰ Lafayette, *Mémoires de ma main* (Paris, 1837), p. 9.

²¹ Gottschalk, p. 138.

²² Lafayette, manuscript [Notebook-Letters].

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ Lafayette to Mme Lafayette, Oct. 1, 1777.

²⁵ Lafayette to Mme Lafayette, Jan. 6, 1778.

²⁶ Lafayette to Mme Lafayette, June 16, 1778

²⁷ Lafayette to Duc d'Ayen, Dec. 16, 1777.

²⁸ Lafayette to Duc d'Ayen, Sept. 11, 1778.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ For a discussion of Lafayette's role during the period of the discovery of Arnold's plot, which includes citations of other evidences of the general's reaction to

André's execution, see Louis R. Gottschalk, *Lafayette and the Close of the American Revolution* (Chicago, 1942), p. 135-41.

³¹ Lafayette to the Vicomte de Noailles, Oct. 3, 1780.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ Lafayette to the President of Congress, Sept. 7, 1783.

³⁴ Lafayette to Condé Floridablanca, Feb. 22, 1783.

³⁵ Anastasie Lafayette to George Washington, June 12, 1784.

³⁶ Lafayette, quoted in *Mémoires*, vol. 3, p. 409.

³⁷ Lafayette to Mme de Chavaniac, Aug. 25, 1792.

³⁸ Lafayette to La Rochefoucauld, Aug. 25, 1792.

³⁹ Lafayette to Princess d'Hénin, Sept. 16, 1792.

⁴⁰ Lafayette to Princesse d'Hénin, Mar. 13, 1793.

⁴¹ Cited in George Morgan, *The True Lafayette* (Philadelphia, 1919), p. 388.

⁴² Lafayette to Thomas Pinckney, July 4, 1793.

⁴³ Lafayette to LaColombe, Dec. 10, 1793.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ Lafayette, document, [draft . . . July 19, 1793].

⁴⁶ U.S. Congress. House, manuscript [extract from the Journal of Mar. 18, 1796].

⁴⁷ George Washington Lafayette to [Edward Livingston], Mar. 28, 1796.

⁴⁸ Mme Lafayette to Mme de Chavaniac, Oct. 10, 1797.

⁴⁹ Lafayette to DuPont de Nemours, Aug. 20, 1798.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ Lafayette to Jefferson, Apr. 19, 1799.

⁵² Lafayette to John Adams, Apr. 19, 1799.

⁵³ Jules Cloquet, *Recollections of the Private Life of General Lafayette* (London, 1835).

⁵⁴ Lafayette to Napoleon Bonaparte, May 20, 1802.

⁵⁵ Lafayette, manuscript, *Addresse . . .* (1823). This heavily corrected manuscript differs extensively from the text published in the *Mémoires*, vol. 6, p. 156-8.

⁵⁶ Lafayette, manuscript [*Mémoires*, n.d.].

⁵⁷ Morgan, p. 391.

⁵⁸ Lafayette, *Mémoires*, vol. 6, p. 165.

⁵⁹ Wilson Smith to Lafayette, July 8, 1825.

⁶⁰ S. M. Rogers to Lafayette, Sept. 2, 1825.

⁶¹ Henry and Elizabeth Badeau to Lafayette, Aug. 22, 1825.

⁶² Rosewell Saltonstall to Lafayette, July 6, 1825.

⁶³ Joseph Walls to Lafayette, April 22, 1825.

⁶⁴ O'Brien, manuscript (poem) "To General Lafayette," July 4, 1825.

⁶⁵ Ralph Randolph Gurley to Lafayette, Sept. 5, 1825.

⁶⁶ Ralph Randolph Gurley to Lafayette, Aug. 5, 1825.

⁶⁷ Loring D. Dewey to Lafayette, July 4, 1825.

⁶⁸ Eleazar Williams to Lafayette, Mar. 10, 1826.

⁶⁹ Job Smith to Lafayette, July 20, 1825.

⁷⁰ Gilbert Chinard, ed., *The Letters of Lafayette and Jefferson* (Baltimore, 1929), p. xii–xiii.

⁷¹ Jefferson to Lafayette, Mar. 30, 1804.

⁷² Jefferson to Lafayette, June 27, 1807.

⁷³ Jefferson to Lafayette, July 14, 1807.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Jefferson to Mme de Tessé, Oct. 26, 1805.

⁷⁶ Marshall to Lafayette, Aug. 26, 1825.

⁷⁷ Marshall to Lafayette, May 2, 1827.

⁷⁸ Madison to Lafayette, Nov. 1826.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Madison to Lafayette, Dec. 12, 1830.

⁸¹ Emma Willard to Lafayette, Apr. 5, 1832.

⁸² Jeremy Bentham to Lafayette, Mar. 25, 1829.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Bentham to Lafayette, Aug. 20, 1828.

⁸⁵ Bentham, manuscript, "Jeremy Bentham to the French People . . ." (1830).

⁸⁶ Henry Richard Vassall-Fox Holland to Lafayette, Aug. 18, 1830.

⁸⁷ Bayard Tuckerman, *The Life of General Lafayette* (New York, 1889), vol. 1, p. 160.

⁸⁸ Marchou, p. 84.

⁸⁹ Daniel Lescallier to Mme Lafayette [n.d.].

⁹⁰ De Geneste to Mme Lafayette, Dec. 8, 1790.

⁹¹ Guyane Française, manuscript, *Plan d'un Société . . .* [ca. 1789].

⁹² Cited in Virginie de Lasteyrie, *Vie de Madame de La Fayette . . .* 2. éd. (Paris, 1869) p. 454.

⁹³ Adrienne Lafayette to Mme de Chavaniac, July 17, [1775].

⁹⁴ Adrienne Lafayette to Mme de Chavaniac, Oct. 30, 1792.

⁹⁵ André Maurois, *Adrienne* (New York, 1961), p. 271.

⁹⁶ Mme Lafayette to Mlle de Chavaniac, Aug. 12, 1795.

⁹⁷ Mme Lafayette to Mlle de Chavaniac [Aug. 18, 1795].

⁹⁸ Mme Lafayette to George Washington Lafayette, Oct. 12, 1795.

⁹⁹ Mme Lafayette to M. et Mme Lally-Tolendal, Feb. 25, 1796.

¹⁰⁰ Mme Lafayette to M. Masson, May 16, 1796.

¹⁰¹ Mme Lafayette to M. Masson, June 20, 1796.

¹⁰² Mme Lafayette to George Washington Lafayette, 7 vendémiaire, an II.

¹⁰³ Mme Lafayette to George Washington, Dec. 26, 1783.

¹⁰⁴ Mme Lafayette to George Washington, Apr. 15, 1785.

¹⁰⁵ Jean Vidalenc, *Les émigrés français 1789–1825, Associations de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de l'Université de Caen*, 1963, p. 252.

¹⁰⁶ René Mans de Froullay, Comte de Tessé, manuscript, Diary . . . 1777.

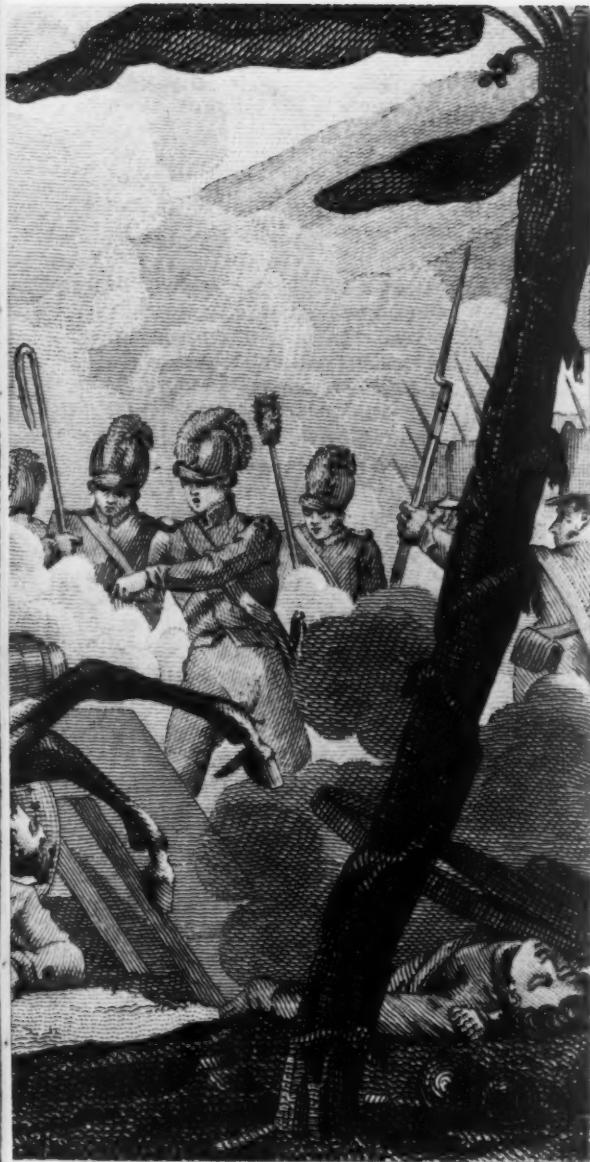
¹⁰⁷ *Le Général Lafayette. Catalogue des livres, estampes, autographs, et souvenirs . . .* (Paris, 1934).

¹⁰⁸ Marchou, p. 87.



La Grange.
Engraving by Adam, after a drawing by Civeton.





A 19th-century engraving of Lafayette after a portrait by Chasselat. Lafayette Collection.

Lafayette Papers at the Library of Congress

by John R. Sellers

The Library of Congress is not the main repository in the United States for the papers of the Marquis de Lafayette. If any American institution has claim to that distinction, it is the Cornell University Library. Doubtless some recognition should also be given to the Yale University Library, which now owns Stuart Wells Jackson's famous Lafayette Collection, the Van Wickle Library at Lafayette College, which holds the Hubbard Collection, and the Indiana University Library, where the Gardner-Ball Collection is on deposit. Nevertheless, the Library of Congress

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does possess a substantial number of letters and documents from the hand of Lafayette, not only in the Library's Lafayette Collection but also in the papers of the many prominent military and political figures with whom Lafayette was associated. Moreover, the Library's program for copying materials in foreign libraries and archives, along with its large collection of domestic microfilm, affords the Lafayette scholar an excellent opportunity for research into the long and eventful life of this amazing Frenchman.

Some of the most interesting Lafayette letters in the Library's collections are in the papers of Thomas Jefferson. In all, the Jefferson papers contain 184 exchanges between these two luminaries, over half of which are recipient copies. Lafayette's first real contact with the author of the Declaration of Independence came during the Virginia campaign of 1781. Jefferson was in his last two months as war Governor when the marquis entered the State at the head of a brigade of light infantry sent to the area to prevent further depredations by a British force under Benedict Arnold. But even under those trying circumstances the two men seemed to strike up a warm friendship. For example, when Jefferson declined the request of Congress in 1781 to serve as a Commissioner to the Court of France, he saw fit to explain his refusal to the marquis. Three years later when Jefferson was preparing to embark for France, the offer of Congress having been renewed, Lafayette, who happened to be on another of his American tours, expressed his chagrin that he would not have the honor of receiving his friend at the French capital. From Hartford, Conn., he wrote, "My House, Dear Sir, my family, and Any thing that is mine are entirely at Your disposal." Indeed, he assured Jefferson that he would be very angry with him if he did not consider the Château de La Grange a second home.¹

Jefferson, more than any of Lafayette's many correspondents, could speak knowledgeably about the marquis' concern for the emerging United States. In letter after letter Lafayette addressed himself to the new minister on such critical issues as the Barbary pirates, the French tobacco monopoly (the farmers-general), foreign debt, the Constitution, British hostility to the American union, trade with France, and do-

The closing section of Lafayette's letter to Thomas Jefferson, written from Hartford, Conn., October 11, 1784, shortly before Jefferson assumed the post of Ambassador to the Court of France, is typical of the marquis' generous attitude toward Americans visiting abroad.

mestic politics in the United States and France. There was little about the United States that did not interest Lafayette. Unfortunately, his generous attitude toward America and Americans made him particularly vulnerable to the solicitations of numerous enterprising travelers. Much to Jefferson's credit, he refused to forward most such applications that came to him as the American closest to Lafayette, especially if he suspected the author of attempting to exploit his relationship with the marquis. Each time Jefferson did lay some request before Lafayette, it caused him pangs of conscience.²

Also indicative of the intimate relationship between Lafayette and Jefferson is the incident that took place at Jefferson's residence in Paris on the evening of August 26, 1789. At the time, France was in the throes of its own Revolution, and the prospect of a split in patriot solidarity had brought the country dangerously close to civil war. In an effort to resolve this discord, Lafayette arranged for the leaders of the opposing factions to assemble at Jefferson's residence in Paris to discuss their differences. His excuse for this imposition on Jefferson was that his own house was always full, but it is obvious that what he really sought was his friend's moderating influence. Jefferson promptly dropped what he was doing to accommodate his self-invited guests and was rewarded with the most profound political discussion he had ever witnessed.³

About a month after this meeting Jefferson left Paris to return to the United States, but throughout the remaining years of his life he continued to correspond with Lafayette. His papers contain over 80 letters, mostly originals, he received from Lafayette between September 1789, when he returned to the United States, and his death on July 4, 1826. There are no letters for the years Lafayette was in prison, 1792-97, which is understandable, but otherwise the marquis wrote with fair regularity, especially during the years of Jefferson's presidency.

I am now going to Darien, Rhode Island, and by boat to Virginia when you may
be again writing to me - in which together bound to Philadelphia, and I intend doing
the lecture by the time longest we have, in order to pay my expenses to them - and
now such a patriotic system may be fully followed by all the states, as will
secure their eternal peace, and of course their talents Happened, committed to such
and National consequence! Nothing new from Rhode Island regarding the importation
there however ^{and you may be found} you are going to the right way into things you are going
to - a few ladies have written to me towards the new scheme, but nothing of
any consequence - shall a little right be exercised, then Happened upon the
back lands of Connecticut and Pennsylvania, as may be affirmed then this trifling
your task is vanishing into nothing.

My Home, dear Sir, my family, and every thing there is here are
closely as your disposal, and I beg you will come and be with us Lafayette as you
would be by your brother's side - His knowledge of the country may be of
some use to this junction when the task of trying to attend to every thing
there may be difficult to bear - Indeed, my brother, I would be very happy with
you, if either you or she, did not consider my house as a friend Home, and not
Lafayette as very happy in having opportunity to wait upon Miss Jefferson.

My best and most affectionate regards remain upon Interpreters
I should also be anxious to see the talk of young Franklin and the American
friends - shall you now be with us Adams, I beg you will furnish my regards
to him - Now, my dearest, with every assurance of attachment and regard
I have the honor to be

Your affectionate son
Lafayette

One surprising thing about the Lafayette correspondence in the Library's manuscript collections is the scarcity of post-Revolutionary letters in the papers of George Washington. Of 225 letters published by Louis R. Gottschalk in his one-volume edition of *The Letters of Lafayette to Washington, 1777-1799* (New York, 1944), only 56 recipient copies are in the Washington papers, all but one of which were written during the period of the war, chiefly while Lafayette was campaigning in Virginia.⁴ This single exception is a cover letter for a list of words Lafayette sent his "beloved general" in behalf of Catherine II, Empress of Russia. It seems the Empress was attempting to compile "an Universal dictionary" which she felt would not be complete without samplings from the language of the American Indian, and Washington was being asked to have the enclosed words translated into the idiom of the Indian nations living along the Ohio River.⁵

Fortunately, even in retirement, Washington maintained copies of his correspondence. Scattered through his letterbooks are 44 letters he wrote to the marquis after ratification of the final treaty of peace. The letters concern a variety of subjects, ranging from the simple purchase of household goods in France to significant political and diplomatic developments in the United States and Europe. In Washington's last letter to Lafayette, December 25, 1798, he expressed his satisfaction that the marquis was at last free from his long and rigorous confinement in dungeons in Austria and Germany. Washington seemed more than a little surprised that Lafayette's wife and daughters, who had voluntarily joined him in prison, had survived the ordeal. After explaining why he had not written sooner—he had expected Lafayette to embark for America—Washington went on at great length to account for his prolonged silence from June 10, 1792, to October 8, 1797, assuring Lafayette that there had been no diminution or change in his affections. Political differences between the United States and France, together with his own position and influence in America, had made such communication inappropriate.

The Library's collection of the papers of Alexander Hamilton contains 25 original Lafayette letters, all but three of which are to Hamilton.

Although these letters divide almost equally between the Revolutionary and post-Revolutionary periods, their concern throughout is war or plans for war. In fact, Hamilton once complained to the marquis, "You would not give a pin for my letters unless politics or war made a part of it."⁶

The letters Lafayette wrote to Hamilton during the Revolution relate largely to the disappointing performance of Comte d'Estaing off Newport, R.I., in the summer of 1778 and the maneuvers of his light infantry brigade in the initial stages of the Virginia campaign. In the former he reacts rather sharply to the widespread criticism of his countryman, which in his opinion was quite unjustified. Seldom were Lafayette's pro-French prejudices more apparent.⁷

Doubtless Hamilton's increasingly conspicuous pro-British leanings account in part for his extremely light correspondence with Lafayette during the remaining years of the West Indian's abbreviated life. However, if Lafayette was aware of Hamilton's thoughts on the subject of foreign trade, he gave no hint of it in his correspondence. When he was in America in 1784, for instance, he wrote Hamilton asking him to use his influence to persuade John Jay to accept the proffered post of Secretary of Foreign Affairs, because Arthur Lee, the probable second choice of Congress—and never one of Lafayette's favorites—had always been suspicious of France's true intentions in supporting the American rebellion. Lee would never have cooperated with Lafayette's plan to act as unofficial ambassador for Americans abroad. As Lafayette told Hamilton, he not only wanted American ministers in Europe to feel free to call on him for whatever they desired, but he hoped to be just as free to communicate with Congress, albeit, only as a trusted friend.⁸

Lafayette's remaining correspondence with Hamilton shows him keeping the latter informed on the progress of peace negotiations and various political developments in Europe. But the letter he sent Hamilton from Paris on October 15, 1787, in which he expressed an interest in promoting trade between their two countries fell on deaf ears. Probably he got a better response when he asked Hamilton to enroll him in anti-slave societies in New York and elsewhere. Both men abhorred the evils of slavery, and Hamilton

followed with interest the results of Lafayette's experiment at Cayenne in the gradual emancipation of the Negro.⁹

Few men even among Lafayette's contemporaries could match him in his correspondence with American Presidents. He addressed letters to seven and was on intimate terms with at least three—Washington, Jefferson, and Madison. Lafayette material in the papers of James Madison, however, consists chiefly of drafts or copies of letters from Madison to Lafayette, and many of these were written after Madison had retired from politics. The one item worth mentioning here is an autograph draft of a letter Madison sent to the marquis in 1830. Referring to the famous Virginia Convention of 1829, he remarked that he, James Monroe, and John Marshall had been "too mindful of the years over our heads" to take an active part in the debates.¹⁰

From the tone of Madison's other letters to Lafayette, it is obvious that both men held each other in high regard. This is much less apparent in Lafayette's correspondence with James Monroe, which consists for the most part of mere pleasantries. Monroe just happened to be President when Lafayette began his triumphal tour of the country in 1824, and their written exchanges are little more than the usual amenities between visiting dignitaries and members of state. Two notable exceptions are Lafayette holographs relating to the Virginia Convention mentioned above and the July Revolution of 1830. In the former he voiced the hope that the Convention would take the initiative in abolishing slavery; the latter is a qualified endorsement of the July Revolution.¹¹

Similarly, pertinent items in the papers of Andrew Jackson are polite, somewhat official exchanges. They include a letter from Jackson welcoming Lafayette to America in 1824, a copy of Lafayette's letter of condolence on the death of Mrs. Jackson, President Jackson's expression of gratitude to Lafayette for his assistance in settling American claims against France, and a report from Lafayette on the success of the July Revolution.¹²

Lafayette died during Jackson's second term of office. Before breathing his last, he instructed his son, George Washington Lafayette, to send

President Jackson a copper plate he had in his possession "on which was inscribed the first engraved copy of the American Declaration of Independence." A copy of the covering letter by George Washington Lafayette contains the following endorsement in the hand of Jackson: "Sent the original to Congress, Decr. 4th 1834. A. J."¹³

An interesting aside on Lafayette's connection with Jackson comes from a letter written by William Leggett, managing editor of the *Washington Evening Post*, shortly after the marquis' death. Aware that Samuel F. B. Morse had corresponded with Lafayette during the latter's declining years, Leggett wrote Morse asking for extracts from some of the marquis' recent letters "on subjects which it would be well to assist by the weight of his name." Leggett apparently had heard that Lafayette had spoken decidedly against the United States Bank, and as an ardent Jacksonian Democrat he felt a few choice quotes along those lines would be useful to the administration in putting down "that dangerous institution."¹⁴

Next to the Library's Presidential series, the most logical place to look for autograph letters by Lafayette is in the collected papers of American diplomats to France and their secretaries. One such man was William Short (1759–1849), the son of a well-to-do Virginia planter. Short's diplomatic career included service as Jefferson's private secretary, secretary of the American legation, and, from September 1789 to the arrival of Gouverneur Morris in 1792, chargé d'affaires. Although Short was never a minister with portfolio, he corresponded with Lafayette concerning the U.S. foreign debt and was the recipient of a beautiful eulogy on General Washington, written soon after Lafayette learned of the death of his foremost hero:

You knew the ties that have so long united me to my illustrious, paternal friend. I hardly can persuade myself that he is no more. Yet [I] am but too sensible of the loss. An imme[dil]iate one it is to Mankind, to the United States, to every man who had any relation with him, greater to me than to any other. His life has been most gloriously, usefully, and happily filled up. I did hope, from his strong constitution, it should have been preserved much longer.¹⁵

Lafayette -
January 1800

Mr. Short
in Paris

Lafayette's letter to William Short concerning the death of Washington reveals the marquis' deep feeling for his "paternal friend."

Another American diplomat who corresponded with Lafayette was William Vans Murray. Murray, a loyal Federalist from the Eastern Shore of Maryland, was serving as Minister to the Netherlands during the Adams administration, and it was through the American legation at The Hague that Talleyrand, the French Foreign Minister, attempted to make amends for the insulting treatment of American Commissioners to France in the XYZ Affair. Murray forwarded

Talleyrand's assurance that the next U.S. Minister to France would be received with respect, and Adams, who was anxious to restore diplomatic ties with France, rewarded him with the appointment of Minister Plenipotentiary to the French Court.

Although Lafayette was in exile during this entire affair, he could not remain silent while the countries he had fought to save drifted farther and farther apart. In January 1799 he

To George Washington - since we met - by chance

My dear Sir

I am afraid my slowed answers for your last letter have been forwarded with great displeasure. I have received the testimonies of your pastoring me only in the publick prof. but also in my personal feelings - you know the time I have so long waited for to my illustrious, paternal friend - I hardly can forbear myself that he is no more - you are too sensible of the loss - the immediate one is to mankind, to the United States, to every man who had any relation with him, greater to me than to any other. His life has been more glorious, wisely, and happily filled up - if did more from his strong constitution, it should have been preserved much longer - once more I thank you, my dear friend, for the sentiments you express on the reliability of allusion - and with a bound the pleasure to embrace you, before we meet - affectionately yours J. J.

wrote Murray at The Hague of his grief over this dispute, and several other times that same year he sent inquiries to Murray about the progress of negotiations. Sometimes he would share whatever personal and political news he had to offer, but it is obvious from the circumstances surrounding his correspondence with Murray that he was seeking information.¹⁶

William Cabel Rives was U.S. Minister to France during another crucial period in French

history. A Jackson appointee, Rives reached Paris in the fall of 1829 and remained there throughout Jackson's first term of office. One of Rives' first "official" acts upon assuming his new post was to respond to a letter from Lafayette welcoming him to France and inviting him to visit La Grange. Rives and Lafayette quickly developed a liking for each other, as can be seen in their lively correspondence over the next three years. Many of their letters concern simple things

like the loan of a book or court etiquette, but they also discussed serious diplomatic problems. Rives kept Lafayette informed on political developments in Virginia, such as the State's new constitution, which, "as far as one unhappy circumstance renders it possible," Lafayette thought "the best political organization in the federal Union." Virginia had done nothing toward abolishing the institution of slavery.¹⁷

Like other diplomats before him, Rives made good use of Lafayette's attachment to the United States. He had been instructed by Jackson to secure a satisfactory adjustment of American claims against France for depredations and seizures committed during the Napoleonic Wars. Negotiation of these claims had lagged for some years because of French counterclaims based on alleged American violations of a commercial clause in the Louisiana Treaty. To Rives' credit, he did wait a polite interval before attempting to enlist the aid of his new friend, but in one respect Rives' entire approach to this problem was improper—Lafayette's son was on the claims commission. If Lafayette had a sense of this impropriety, however, he gave no hint of it in his letters. Interestingly enough, the figure Lafayette gave Rives as the best offer he could expect in settling the claims, 25 million francs, is the exact amount agreed upon in the final treaty.¹⁸

Another example of Lafayette's readiness to assist his American friends was his espousal of a business arrangement that Nathanael Greene was promoting with the French Government in the immediate postwar period. Greene's patriotic but unwise backing of an army contractor during the southern campaign had left him near bankruptcy after the Revolution. About all he had left after the settlement of claims against him was the land given to him by the State of Georgia in appreciation of his military performance.

In 1785, with poverty close at hand, Greene moved his family to Georgia. Finding that he possessed a handsome stand of live oak, he began to correspond with both Jefferson, then Minister to France, and Lafayette about the possibility of selling some of his timber to the French Navy. Lafayette promptly took the matter up with Maréchal de Castries, the Minister of Marine. Castries liked the idea and was waiting to see a sample cargo, "particularly of Knees-crooked

timber," when Greene died suddenly in June of the following year. Had Greene's life not been cut short, he probably would have recovered his wartime losses and more.¹⁹

Commodore John Paul Jones was another wartime friend in whose behalf Lafayette used his influence and prestige with the French Government. In the course of his cruises off the English coast in 1778-79, Jones had taken several prizes into French ports, where they were condemned and sold at auction. One such vessel, the *Serapis*, had been stripped by order of the French Minister of Marine before it was sold and thus brought only one-fifth of its original value. After the war, when Jones sought compensation for this and other losses, one of the few respected Frenchmen he found he could rely on for support was none other than the Marquis de Lafayette. But to overcome opposition to his recompense Jones needed to establish his loyalty to France, which had been questioned during the Revolutionary War. Doubtless he took the same position he had earlier expressed to Lafayette:

To come to the point[,] here follows my political Profession. I am a Citizen of the World—totally Unfettered by the little mean distinctions of Country or Climate, impelled by principles of gratitude and Philanthropy. I drew my Sword at the beginning of the American Revolution, and when France so Nobly espoused that great Cause no individual felt the obligation with truer gratitude than myself.²⁰

Whatever the case, he won his claims.

Unlike his French benefactor, Jones was a true soldier of fortune. Three years after the Revolution, when it became apparent to him that he had reached the apex of his career in the U.S. Navy, he began to look elsewhere for employment. First, he investigated the possibility of an admiral's commission in the French Navy. Failing that, he made another unsuccessful effort in the United States to gain flag rank. Finally, in 1788, he found what he sought in the Russian service. Writing from on board the imperial flagship *Vladimir* at anchor in the Liman before Ochakov, Rear Admiral Jones admonished Lafayette, "Are you so absorbed in Politics, as to be insensible to Glory? That is impossible [;] quit then your divine Calypso, come here, and pay

Paris June 23 1831

My dear Sir

The last answer of Her received from the King is dated 8th August 1830
Quatre-ans American claims, does He say, does j'ai au moins la description de
ce qui occupera mon attention et mon temps le plus long, par qui que
ceci est admis, a des plus hauts de plaignez la Europe, j'a goutte a trouver
un ministre avec qui je puis suis contente de faire des progrès, mais il est bien
difficile de trouver des progrès pour faire a toutes les exigences...

To this private communication of the King, he adds a confidential anecdote
 I have received from the minister of foreign affairs the last time of last year, and which
 He used to show to me on the file of the political papers. on the margin of the
 documents relate to the claims, either a Report or one of your notes, I have not examined
 which, are written under grande plaignez l'avenir, les dommages de l'avenir, a
 vulgar expression signifying to trouble them with hopes which coincide with the
 King's estimation of its government being but the only one in power above it.

Be it as it may, my dear Sir, you know that on the morning of my departure
 from Paris the very same friend of Her again pointed the matter to the president
 of the council, the minister of foreign affairs, the treasury minister, and the minister of
 commerce. What has resulted from the new meeting which the King, promised to
 see before the minister of foreign affairs. But before a change of determination has
 since my conversation with them taken place, I am sorry to say it was on my leaving
 Paris my firm opinion that the sum of twenty-five millions of francs is the most

Throughout his life Lafayette maintained an intense interest in Franco-American relations. Here and on the following page is reproduced a letter—written just three years before his death in 1834—to William Cabell Rives, showing Lafayette actively involved in the settlement of American claims for ships seized during the Napoleonic Wars.

extensive one you can obtain. I owe this government the trouble to say that the few friends
there, King, peers and noble ministers, since our last revolution, very friendly disposed towards
the U. S. and truly desirous to keep up mutual satisfaction and intimacy between the
two nations at the same time they are seriously impeded with financing undertaken
and surrounding circumstances. But kindly I have the pleasure to inform you that
tidings, after your last communication with Debilly and Talma, poster to the
King's promise to have the matter again debated, and at the first view of the, for
some time expected a higher offer, my good belief, with respect to the 25 millions
Larrea due remains. When it was after the late interview with the ministers
most particularly concerned in the interests of the colonies."

If then has the dear chance of my rendering any service in this affair.
You will have a line from you which bring me immediately to town, say I
think the little I might do is pretty much spent out.

Be pleased to believe my affectionate respects to his wife and family
not forgetting my good son. heartily and affectionately

Yours sincerely
Lafayette

I wish it may be in my power to attend to
M. de L'Isle's bidding. One tidbit from several quarters, and
perhaps from the relations of my late friend, as well as
from the neighbouring corps of national guards, who
are pleased to take successively as to Grange night
interior with my turn to visit upon him.

your court once more to Bellona, who, you are sure, will receive you as her favorite."²¹

But Presidents, diplomats, and former comrades-in-arms were just a few of Lafayette's correspondents. His letters are scattered through the collected papers of American scientists, businessmen, and minor public officials. Sometimes, as in the case of his correspondence with David Ruggles of Newburgh, N.Y., they concern the sale or disposition of land to which Lafayette held claim in Florida, Louisiana, and Ohio. Again, the subject might be the distress of widows and heirs of French veterans of the American Revolution, the threatened disruption of the union of American States during the Jacksonian era, or the simple exchange of plants and shrubs. On the issue of the union Lafayette wrote: "Supposing a Separation of the Union which God forbid, was in futurity to take place, do wait at least until the last of those who have fought and bled in the Revolutionary War has breathed his ultimate sigh."²² Politics was also uppermost in Lafayette's thoughts when he wrote Ludwell Lee in 1832 complaining that the July Revolution had not gone far enough in the direction of the American school, which he claimed was the order of the day. Actually Lafayette was partly to blame for France's continuing under a monarch, however limited; he had failed to act with decision when the opportunity presented itself.²³

Unique among the materials in the Library's Lafayette Collection are 40 manuscripts relating to the genealogy of the Lafayette family, some of which go back to the 12th century. The documents were collected and cataloged by a French genealogist, Charles D'Hozier. In 1907 Emile Edouard Cellérier, president of the International College of Heraldry at Paris, presented these documents to the Library of Congress in behalf of his wife, Gabrielle France (Cunningham) Cellérier, formerly of New York City.

Also in the Lafayette Collection are second copies of the registration of the family's official coat of arms; miscellaneous letters and notes from Lafayette to Americans visiting in Paris and to friends in America; an orderly book for the period from August 5 to September 16, 1780; and Benjamin Thomas Hill's collection of newspaper clippings, extracts from diaries and journals, prints, and the like relating to Lafayette's final tour of the United States, 1824-25. The orderly

book records division, brigade, and regimental orders issued by Lafayette and his brigadiers, Gen. Enoch Poor and Gen. Edward Hand, during a period of relative quiet in the Northern Department. But the fact that it is also the period in which Maj. James McHenry, Washington's aide-de-camp, left headquarters following a disagreement with the Commander in Chief to join Lafayette's staff gives it added interest. Hill's collection, in seven volumes and depicting the contemporary American scene, is arranged in the order of Lafayette's itinerary.

A final area of the Library's holdings that merits mention is its foreign reproductions. Although this material is in the form of microfilms, photostats, and transcripts, its general inaccessibility places it almost on a par with the original manuscripts. Some of the collections that contain Lafayette items are as follows: the Cornwallis papers, Public Record Office, London, England; the John Jay Autograph Collection, Windsor Castle, Berkshire, England; the *Manuscrits Français, nouvelles acquisitions*, and the letters to St. Jean de Crèvecoeur, *Département des manuscrits, Bibliothèque nationale*; and the *Correspondance politique, États Unis supplement (series II)*, *Archives du ministère des Affaires étrangères*, *Archives de la Marine*, *Archives nationales*, and the *Bibliothèque du service historique de l'Armée*, Paris, France. The Lafayette letters in the Cornwallis papers relate to military activities in the Southern Department during the Revolutionary War. Those in the French archives concern chiefly the American expeditions of Comte de Rochambeau and Comte d'Estaing.²⁴

Also useful in this regard is the comprehensive index to 161,000 manuscripts examined in the compilation of Benjamin F. Stevens' *Facsimiles of Manuscripts in European Archives Relating to America, 1773-1783* (London, 1889-98). This index, totaling 180 volumes, consists of "The Catalogue" (50 vols.), containing a full citation to each document according to location, a "Chronological Index" (100 vols.), and an "Alphabetical Index" (30 vols.).

Lafayette was truly a man of two countries, a not altogether comfortable position at times. Perhaps this is best seen in his letter to Louis XVI in which he spells out the reasons for his voyage

Le malheur d'avoir déplu à l'otre Majesté produit un sentiment de douleur si vif, qu'il m'empêche, non pas à faire d'excuse une démarche qu'elle déapprove, mais à présenter les motifs véritables qui l'ont inspirée. L'amour de ma patrie, l'envie de voir l'abastement de ses ennemis, un instinct politique que le dernier traité semblerait justifier, telles sont, Sire, les raisons qui décideront le parti que je pris dans la cause Américaine.

In this letter to Louis XVI, reproduced here and on the following pages, Lafayette tactfully defends his unauthorized absence from France and his participation in the American Revolution. In the opening paragraph he says: "The misfortune to have displeased your Majesty produces in me a painful feeling so strong, it emboldens me not to try and excuse myself for an undertaking of which your Majesty disapproves, but to present the true motives which inspired it. Love of my country, desire to see the downfall of her enemies, a political instinct which the latest treaty seems to justify, all these, Sire, are the reasons which decided my taking up the American cause." Library of Congress Foreign Reproductions. Original at the Bibliothèque nationale.

to America in 1777. But more than that it reflects the point of view that permeates Lafayette's letters and papers—that France and America were one in hopes and fortunes.²⁵

NOTES

¹ Jefferson to Lafayette, Aug. 4, 1781. Lafayette to Jefferson, Oct. 11, 1784.

² Lafayette to Jefferson, Mar. 18 [19], 1786; [Mar. 6, 1786]; Aug. 30, 1786; June 6, 1787; [Dec. 25, 1787?]. Jefferson to Lafayette [Mar. 26?], 1789.

³ Lafayette to Jefferson [Aug. 25, 1789].

⁴ There is reason to suppose that sometime before his death Washington returned the post-Revolutionary letters he received from Lafayette. It is known that when Lafayette left the United States in 1781, he requested copies of his wartime correspondence with the Commander in Chief to occupy himself in his old age. See Louis R. Gottschalk, *Lafayette and the Close of the American Revolution* (Chicago, 1942), p. 345.

⁵ Lafayette to Washington, Feb. 10 [1786].

⁶ Hamilton to Lafayette [Nov. 3, 1782]. This is the only original letter in the collection from Hamilton to Lafayette.

⁷ Lafayette to Hamilton, Sept. 1, 1778; Aug. 26, 1778; Apr. 10, 1781; May 23, 1781.

⁸ Lafayette to Hamilton, Oct. 8, 1784; Oct. 22, 1784. Also see Lafayette to Robert R. Livingston, Feb. 5, 1783, in the Hamilton Papers.

⁹ Lafayette to Hamilton, Apr. 13, 1785; May 24, 1788.

¹⁰ [Madison] to Lafayette, Feb. 1, 1830.

¹¹ Lafayette to Monroe, June 17, 1829; [Sept.] 1, 1830.

¹² Lafayette to Jackson, Oct. 18, 1824; Aug. 21, 1825; Dec. 28, 1830; June 16, 1832. Jackson to Lafayette, Apr. 17, 1829; Jan. 19, 1831.

¹³ George Washington Lafayette to Jackson, June 15, 1834.

¹⁴ William Leggett to Samuel F. B. Morse, June 20, 1834. Miscellaneous Manuscripts Collection.

lorsque je reçus les ordres de Votre Majesté, je les attribuai
enon plus aux sollicitations et à la tendresse de ma famille qu'à
la formule de conduite qu'on tenait vis-à-vis de l'Angleterre. Les
sentiments de mon cœur égarent mon raisonnement; je crus
voir que mon départ ne croit pas déplaire, aussi certainement
que je voyais l'impossibilité de le permettre, et si je mis dans ma
désobéissance des formes qui me rendaient mons plus longable,
c'est, Sir, que tout français doit risquer sa fortune, ses espérances,
et même l'opinion publique, plutôt que de nuire aux intérêts de
son pays en compromettant le gouvernement par la conduite.

Persuadé de mon innocence, Sir, mon cœur étoit
tranquille en combattant pour ma patrie; j'ai joué du plaisir
de verser mon sang pour elle, et je me suis permis de lui faire
hommage des lègères lésions que j'ai pu subir à ce-attris. Le
premier bruit d'une guerre avec l'Angleterre me rappelait en
France, lorsque l'arrivée de l'ordre de Votre Majesté, et l'opinion
troublée patriotique, toujours éclairée, du général qui la commanda
me persuadèrent que mon séjour en Amérique n'étoit plus utile.
longuement j'ai annoncé mon retour au longris, le Ministre
de Votre Majesté a peint que la forme d'un longri couroit
meilleur aux circonstances présentées.

je suis bien loin, sire, d'ôter ma justification devant votre Majesté d'une dérobissance qu'elle déapprovera et dont je dois me repentir. je le suis encore plus de faire valoir quelques services just au dessous de la récompense que je trouverai dans le bonheur lui même d'être utile. Mais il importait à mon Rêve que votre Majesté put attribuer à les véritablez Monz une conduite qui n'attirât la disgrâce. le genre de mes torts me donne le droit d'espérer que je pourrai les effacer. c'est une bonté de votre Majesté que je devrai le bonheur de m'en laver par les moyens qu'elle daignera me donner de la Justice dans quelque pays et de quelque manière que ce puisse être.

je suis avec le plus profond respect

sire

de votre Majesté

Paris ce 19 Janvier
1779

le très humble et très obéissant
Sénéchal et ~~juste~~ sujet
Lafayette

Paris, Bib. Nat., Ms. fr. Nouv. Acq. 22738.



¹⁵ Short to Lafayette, Mar. 14, 1787; [May 15, 1787?]; [May 18, 1787]. Lafayette to Short [Mar. 19, 1800].

¹⁶ Lafayette to Murray, Jan. 8, 1799; Mar. 31, 1799; May 6, 1799; June 12, 1799; [June 1799?]; Aug. 2, 1799; Oct. 29, 1799.

¹⁷ Lafayette to Rives, Oct. 22, 1829; Oct. 25, 1829; Oct. 28, 1829; [Dec.] 28, 1829; Jan. 28, 1830; Jan. 8, 1832.

¹⁸ Lafayette to [Rives], June 3, 1831.

¹⁹ Lafayette to Greene, Dec. 3, 1775. Greene Papers.

²⁰ [Jones] to Lafayette, Feb. 18, 1780. Force Papers.

²¹ Jones to Lafayette, June 15/26, 1788.

²² Lafayette to David Ruggles, Jan. 18, 1830. Cadwallader Colden Papers. Lafayette to [Rives], Sept. 25, 1832. Rives Papers.

²³ Lafayette to Ludwell Lee, Oct. 18, 1832. Miscellaneous Manuscripts Collection.

²⁴ See George H. Reese, ed., *The Cornwallis Papers: Abstracts of Americana* (Charlottesville, Va., 1970).

²⁵ Lafayette to Louis XVI, Feb. 1779. Département des manuscrits. Manuscrits Français, nouvelles acquisitions, Bibliothèque nationale.



*Lithograph of Lafayette by Delpach.
Lafayette Collection.*

Collections Containing Material on the Marquis de Lafayette

John Barry Collection	Columbia Institute for Arts and Sciences
John Davis Batchelder—Autograph Collection	Continental Congress Papers, Force Papers
Thomas Bee Papers	Croxall-Morris Family Papers
Elias Boudinot Papers, Force Papers	Diggs-L'Enfant-Morgan Papers
Breckinridge Long Papers	Charles William Frederick Dumas Collection
Simon Cameron Papers	William Eustis Papers
Campbell-Preston Family Papers	Hamilton Fish Papers
John Gilbert Clark Papers	Nicholas Fish Papers
Henry Clay Papers	Peter Force Historical Papers
Thomas J. Clay Papers	Benjamin Franklin Papers
Cadwallader Colden Papers	Thomas H. and Edward M. Gallaudet Papers

Galloway-Maxcy-Markoe Family Papers
Horatio Gates Papers, Force Papers
Edmond Charles Genêt Papers
Elbridge Gerry Papers
Nathanael Greene Papers
Hiram Haines Papers
Alexander Hamilton Papers
Thomas Hamilton Papers
Charles C. Hart—Autograph Collection
John Holker Papers
Andrew Jackson Papers
G. E. M. Julian—Autograph Collection
Marquis de Lafayette Papers
Duncan McArthur Papers
James McHenry Papers
James Madison Papers
James Monroe Papers
Melville (Henry Dundas, 2d Viscount Melville)
Papers
Miscellaneous Manuscripts Collection
Morris-Popham Family Papers
Robert Morris Papers
Samuel Finley Breese Morse Papers
William Vans Murray Papers
Charles Cotesworth Pinckney Family Papers
Jean Baptiste Rochambeau Papers
John Rodgers Papers
William Winston Seaton Papers
William Short Papers
J. Henley Smith Papers
Jonathan Bayard Smith Family Papers
Samuel Harrison Smith Papers
Society of the Cincinnati Papers
Samuel Lewis Southard Papers
Lewis Tappan Papers
William Thornton Papers
Gaston Tissandier Collection
Joseph M. Toner Papers
Nicholas Philip Trist Papers
John Tyler Papers
United States Claims Commission Records
Jeremiah Wadsworth Papers
David Bailie Warden Papers
Elihu Benjamin Washburne Papers
George Washington Papers

Microfilm:

Adams Family Papers
St. Jean de Crèvecoeur Papers
Sol Feinstone Collection of the American
Revolution
Foreign Reproductions: France, Great Britain
Preston Family Papers
John Rutledge Papers, NHPC
Thomas Sumter Papers, Draper Collection

Some Recent Publications of the Library of Congress¹

Latin America, Spain, and Portugal; an Annotated Bibliography of Paperback Books. 1971. 180 p. 75 cents. Compiled by Georgette M. Dorn of the Hispanic Foundation, Reference Department. Containing 1,512 entries of paperback books about Latin America, Spain, and Portugal, this bibliography includes a selection of outstanding grammars, language readers, dictionaries, textbooks, and travel guides, as well as works on the social sciences and humanities. The price and a brief descriptive comment are given for each entry. A list of publishers and a subject index are appended.

Lincoln's Gettysburg Address in Translation. 1972. 35 p. \$1.25. Compiled by Roy P. Basler, Chief of the Manuscript Division. This volume contains the English version of the speech and translations into 29 languages. André Maurois provided the French translation and Vladimir Nabokov the Russian. More than literal translations, the versions compiled here capture the poetic imagery and rhythms of Lincoln's words. It is available from the Information Office, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 20540.

Louise Bogan: A Woman's Words. A lecture delivered at the Library of Congress by William Jay Smith, Consultant in Poetry in English at the Library of Congress 1968-70, with a bibliography. 1971. 81 p. 45 cents.

Louise Bogan was the first woman consultant in poetry to the Library, serving in this position in 1945 and 1946. She wrote poetry reviews for *The New Yorker* for many years. Following her death on February 4,

1970, William Jay Smith delivered a lecture about the achievements of her career and his personal reminiscences of their long friendship and their collaboration on *The Golden Journey: Poems for Young People*, which was published in 1965.

In addition to six volumes of poetry, Miss Bogan was the author of numerous essays and reviews. The 485-item bibliography, prepared by the Library's Reference Department, lists her works, including manuscripts and phonorecords, in the collections of the Library of Congress.

Saint-John Perse: Praise and Presence. A lecture delivered at the Library of Congress by Pierre Emmanuel under the auspices of the Gertrude Clarke Whittall Poetry and Literature Fund, with a bibliography. 1971. 82 p. 45 cents.

Saint-John Perse is the pen name of Alexis Léger, a former consultant in French literature to the Library of Congress and recipient of the 1960 Nobel Prize for Literature. The lecture by Pierre Emmanuel, also a French poet and essayist, reviews Perse's poetic career and discusses his major works. The bibliography, compiled by Ruth S. Freitag of the Library's General Reference and Bibliography Division, includes all of the writings of Saint-John Perse in the Library's manuscript, rare book, and general collections.

¹ For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402, unless otherwise noted.





